THE GLOBE.

EXTRA.

HUNTINGDON, TUESDAY, AUGUST 21, 1866.

WE ARE COMING.

BY J. L. HUSBAND.

We are coming, Andrew Johnson, we are coming from the West;
We have gathered from the prairie plains, the bravest and the best,
To bear aloft the starry flag, the emblem of the free,
The standard of that legion host, the sons of liberty.

We are coming, Andrew Johnson, we are coming from the East;
We have killed the fatted calf, to make ready the great feast
At which the sons from all the States can congregate and sing,
And laugh and shout those wild huzzas that make the welkin ring.

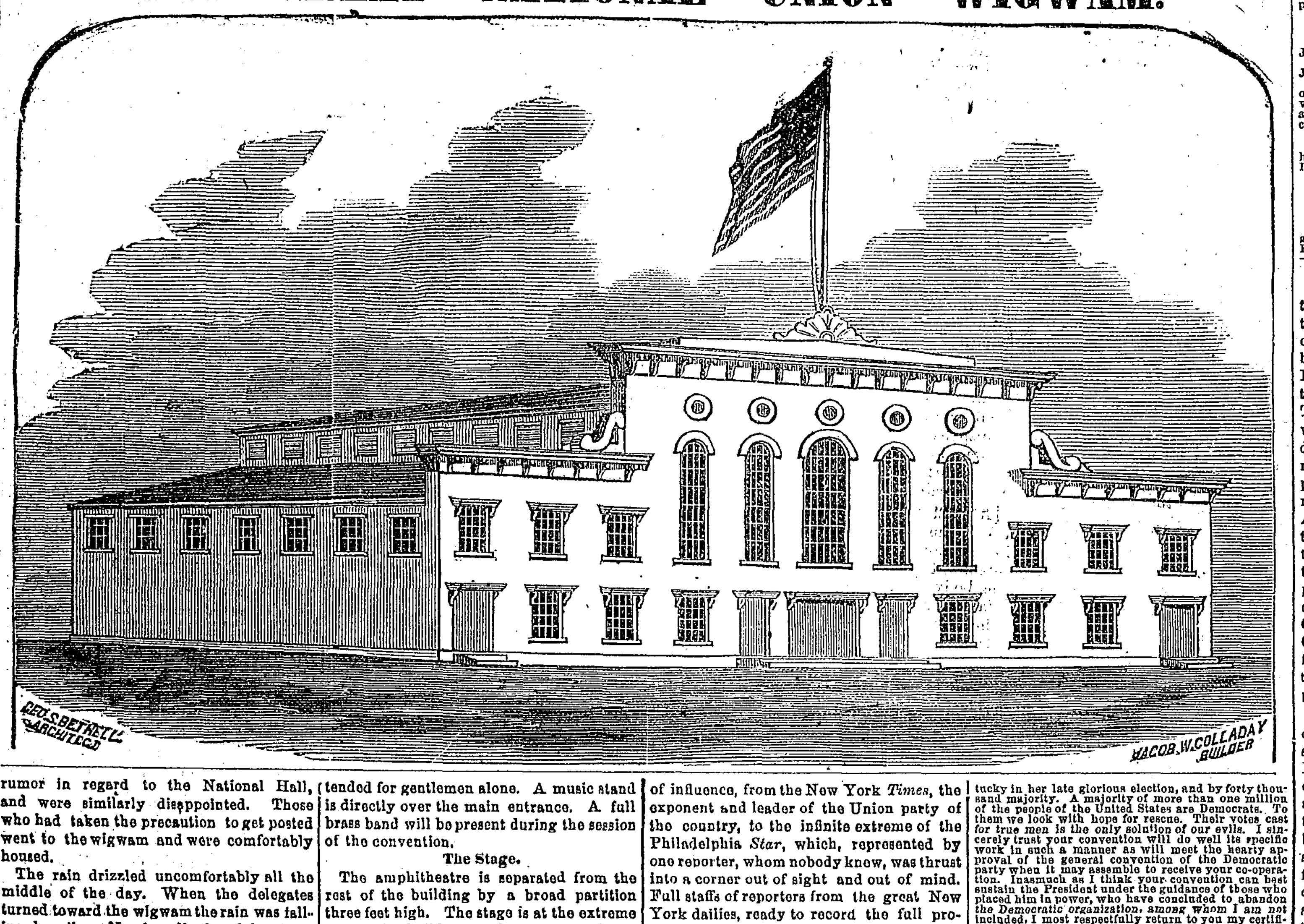
We are coming, Andrew Johnson, we are coming from the North;
We are gathering in our legions, to drive the traitors forth,
From every nook and corner, of every rank and station,
And place anew in every post, statesmen of the nation.

We are coming, Andrew Johnson, we are coming from the South,
To hail again our natal flag, the glory of our youth—
The flag our grandsires swore by, Decatur's hope and pride;
The one he bore with heroism, on every sea and tide.

We are coming, Andrew Johnson, we are coming as a band
That owns a common heritage, in this free and happy land;
We had one foster mother, the fairest and the best,
We own one father only—"Cincinnatus of the West."

As such we are coming, chieftain, the foes to revolution,
The friends of law and order, and the glorious Constitution,
Which is by night our polar star, by day a glowing sun;
Oh, keep it, guard it sacredly, that boon of Washington.

THE GREAT NATIONAL UNION WIGWAM.



THE UNION CONVENTION.

Union Men Rule the Wigwam.

SENATOR DOOLITTLE PRESIDENT.

FERNANDO WOOD RETIRES.

Henry Clay Dean goes Home.

VALLANDIGHAM OUT IN THE COLD.

Massachusetts and South Carolina Fraternal at Last.

ONE FLAG, ONE UNION, ONE DESTINY.

SENATOR COWAN'S REPORT.

The Grandest Political Platform on Record.

It Declares Slavery Abolished.

IT ADOPTS THE NATIONAL DEBT.

IT PROVIDES FOR THE SOLDIERS' ORPHANS.

IT ENDORSES PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

It is Heartily Enthusiastically and Unanimously Endorsed.

MR. RAYMOND READS THE "ADDRESS."

The Greatest Political Document Ever Produced.

THE APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE.

Tuesday, August 14.

The morning of the convention, yesterday, was cloudy and dull. It was a damp, foggy day, cheerless in the streets and comfortless in the hotels. The delegates were astir early. Before the business houses were opened the different committees had assembled to perfect their organization. At a very late hour on Monday night, it had been determined to meet at the wigwam whether wind or weather favored or lowered. This fact was generally unknown. The wigwam was saturated by the heavy rains of Sunday night and Monday. Through the unfinished roof the mist and rain entered until the whole building eminently suggested chills and fever. Yesterday morning a rumor was originated that the convention would meet for temporary organization at National Guard's Hall. A counter rumor was started that it would first assemble at the Academy of Music. Among Philadelphians, who are aware of the repairs now transforming the splendid theatre into an academy of even more magnificence than the past, the latter rumor was not credited. It gained strong hold, however, among strangers. By noon the academy had been visited by two thousand people, who thought the convention would meet there at noon. Of course they were chagrined beyond measure at the deception. A large number believed the rumor in regard to the National Hall, and were similarly disappointed. Those who had taken the precaution to get posted went to the wigwam and were comfortably housed.

The rain drizzled uncomfortably all the middle of the day. When the delegates turned toward the wigwam the rain was falling heavily. Nearly all the delegations drove directly to the scene in closed carriages. The humbly disposed took the horse cars. The ride in these vehicles was an unparalleled jam. By the front entrance of the building the cars of the Girard-avenue railway pass twice in five minutes. Under the shadow of the eastern wall is the terminus of the Seventeenth and Nineteenth-street railroad. A square below, the Ridge-avenue line with its double track intersects Girard avenue, and further east the *Fifteenth-street cars ran crowded to repletion.* With these several lines of access to the wigwam, and the scores of cabs that rolled along towards the convention, more persons walked to the place than could obtain conveyance.

THE WIGWAM.

The wigwam itself, then nearly completed, was praised by all who visited it. The delegates unanimously agreed that it was the most admirably constructed building ever erected for campaign purposes or for the accommodation of a convention. No previous structure ever equaled it in size. It looks, at a distance, like a huge camp barracks, or a temporary enclosure for a mammoth fair. At the intersection of Girard avenue and Twentieth street is a large common. In the centre of the lot the wigwam stands. It faces northwards. Upon Girard avenue it has a front of one hundred and forty-six feet.

The Front View.

From the avenue the appearance is very fine. The front is two stories high, with twelve large windows and five doors. The main entrance is a folding door twelve feet wide, leading into a wide vestibule. On either side of the principal door are smaller entrances. The doors to the galleries are at the east and west ends of the front. A tall flagstaff, one hundred feet high, crowns the peak of the roof, directly above the main entrance. From its lofty top the star-spangled banner floats benignantly on the patriotic men who meet below its folds to preserve the Union founded in blood and consecrated by the sacrifice of thousands of the bravest of the land.

The Vestibule.

The arrangement of the vestibule is not unlike that of the Academy of Music. It is a broad avenue, twelve feet wide and forty feet long, reaching from the main entrance to the lobby. The doors on either side of the central entrance lead into the vestibule, which will empty the largest audience that can be gathered within the wigwam in ten minutes.

The Amphitheatre.

The vestibule opens into the amphitheatre. This is an open space large enough to seat three thousand persons. It is semi-circular in the front, but terminates by square angles at the south. It is filled with benches for the accommodation of the delegates and invited guests. The northern end is separated from the elevated seats by a large lobby.

The Galleries.

The galleries are very extensive. They are designed to accommodate seven thousand people, and fully meet the intention of the builders. The galleries are twofold. They rise from the east and west sides of the amphitheatre to the walls of the wigwam, curving to the sides of the vestibule on the north. A wall of boards divides them. To the lower, access will be had from the floor through the lobby. To the upper, the entrance will be from the exterior. Only ladies or gentlemen accompanied by ladies are admitted to the lower tier of seats. The upper circle is intended for gentlemen alone. A music stand is directly over the main entrance. A full brass band will be present during the session of the convention.

The Stage.

The amphitheatre is separated from the rest of the building by a broad partition three feet high. The stage is at the extreme rear of the building, and towards it all the seats will face. It is of a triple character, a central staging, about twenty-five feet square, being the speakers' and secretaries' stand, and the side stands being intended for reporters' tables. On the stage were seated the leaders of the movement. The neat, attractive figure of Senator Doolittle and the lithe, long body of Senator Cowan were the observed of all observers. General Randall, General Steedman, Senator McDougall, Montgomery Blair, Thomas B. Florence and General Dix, who, with a score of other prominent gentlemen, occupied seats on the stage, were the centre of attraction for thousands of admiring glances.

The stage itself was neatly decorated. The original intention of the National Union Johnson Club, of this city, to drape the wigwam with decorations, the elaborations of which would outvie the scenic splendor of Union avenue of the great sanitary fair, was of course postponed in the incomplete state of the wigwam. But the impromptu decorations of yesterday morning were neat and becoming. Two immense flags, the dimensions of which seem liliputian in that vast theatre, with blue fields touching, formed the back of the stage. At the union another flag drooped and fell, bearing the coat-of-arms of Pennsylvania. Above it was a wreath of evergreen, and arching it all was a beautiful span bearing the names of the States, and wearing the motto: "UNITED WE STAND; DIVIDED WE FALL." The sides of the wigwam over the galleries were festooned with red, white, and blue folds. The coats-of-arms of several States were on the walls.

The Side Rooms.

The space under the elevated seats is divided into smaller rooms. On the east the committee of the National Union Johnson Club have constructed a very handsome committee chamber, forty-eight by twenty. A telegraph office is placed in the southeast corner, and communication established directly with the centre of the city and all parts of the country. On the west side a spacious room, twenty by eighty, has been set apart for banqueting and other purposes. It is one of the finest dining rooms in the city. All these apartments are properly ventilated, and the galleries lighted by windows placed in the east and west sides of the wigwam. In the rear of the stage retiring rooms and water-closets have been erected.

The Roof

is of board, doubled and covered with pitch. The distance from the ground to the eaves is twenty-eight feet. By a rise of twelve feet at an oblique angle, the *roof covers* the galleries. This roof is distinct from the capping of the amphitheatre. The roof of the latter is forty feet at its eaves and fifty feet at the apex. Between the two roofs is an open space two feet high, extending around the entire building, for ventilating purposes.

At the wigwam the police arrangements were complete. A line of patrolmen guarded the doors leading to the galleries and a sergeant's squad formed a hollow square at the central entrance. As the delegates approached one by one, their credentials were examined and the delegates admitted. By noon the building was half filled. The reporters to the number of two hundred occupied the front of the amphitheatre, facing the speakers' platform. The press of the United States never were so generally acquainted with each other as they were yesterday. From the different cities were gathered the principal editors and reporters, embracing all classes of polities and all grades of influence, from the New York *Times*, the exponent and leader of the Union party of the country, to the infinite extreme of the Philadelphia *Star*, which, represented by one reporter, whom nobody knew, was thrust into a corner out of sight and out of mind. Full staffs of reporters from the great New York dailies, ready to record the full proceedings of the convention, seated themselves along the front of the stand, and near them the special phonographers of the Washington official editor and of the Philadelphia papers were placed. The Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis, Louisville, Boston, Springfield, Baltimore and Washington journals were all represented, and nearly fifty reporters were admitted on the authority of credentials from influential and enterprising dailies and weeklies of the interior of this State and from New Jersey.

The convention filled up rapidly. Delegation after delegation came in, until the lower section of the house could contain no more. Then they crowded into the reporters' galleries, and stepped over the rail into the outside circle of seats. At half-past twelve there were over one thousand five hundred delegates assembled within the wigwam. With them came venerable and gray-haired statesmen from all quarters of the country. Men, life-long antagonists, whose heads had whitened in political warfare, begun before the time when Andrew Jackson appealed from a rump Congress to a thinking people, now met side by side in amity. The few leading rebels appointed from one or two southern districts carefully kept themselves aloof from the convention. The spirit of the hour manifested in the previous action of the committees, and the determination of the Union men to keep the convocation pure, was a lesson the significance of which was heeded well. Equally pointed was the intention signified to the peace Democrats of the North, a feeble handful of whom had been accredited to the convention. The Woods retired on Monday night and returned home. Henry Clay Dean and Vallandigham withdrew yesterday.

Fernando Wood and Dean addressed to the convention through Senator Doolittle and Hon. John M. Elwood, chairman of the Iowa Democratic State Executive Committee, their views in writing. Fernando wrote thus:

PHILADELPHIA, August 13.—To the Hon. James Doolittle, Chairman, etc: Dear Sir, I am earnestly desirous for the entire success of the movement proposed to be initiated by the convention to-morrow. If successful, the results to the country will be of the most satisfactory character, and it cannot be successful if its proceedings shall be disturbed by any cause whatever I am informed that a serious disagreement is likely to arise in consequence of an attempt to be made to exclude some delegates, myself included, because our political record is distasteful to the radicals and their sympathizers.

Now, although I feel confident that such an outrage would not be perpetrated by the Convention, and though I have nothing to regret or take back as to my course during the war, and do not admit the right of any one to raise that question in the Convention, yet I am too much devoted to the high and patriotic objects in view to permit my presence there to be a means of disturbing its deliberations, or an excuse for an assault by its enemies outside. Therefore I shall not attend the convention as a delegate.

FERNANDO WOOD.

Mr. Dean, in his letter, said:

Hon. John M. Elwood, Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee: Dear Sir—Through the kind confidence of the Democratic party I have been honored with the appointment of delegate to the Union Conservative National convention, for which, to that invincible body of true men who constitute the Democracy of Iowa, I return my profound thanks: I most heartily approve of the avowed purpose of the convention to sustain the President of the United States in his effort to restore the supremacy of the Constitution and the laws, and the States to their legitimate authority, and representation to the people; but I cannot join with anybody in elevating any mere man to a supremacy over the Constitution. We must form our estimate of the man by the Constitution, and not of the Constitution by the man, and in so far as the President sustains it, it is the duty of all Democrats to sustain the President with their lives, fortunes, and sacred honors.

But this support Democrats should be allowed to give in their own way—through their own organization in accordance with the principles and usages of the great Democratic party, which made the Union by the Constitution, made our history illustrious, and our people free. The Democratic party for three generations was the guardian of American liberty, and preserved inviolate this rich legacy which was bequeathed to us through the bloody testaments of noble generations of glorious men who willingly offered themselves in sacrifice to secure it. This legacy must not be squandered or thrown away. The Democratic party has more to accomplish than your convention can or is expected to do. It stands an unbroken army arrayed against tests and test-oaths other than those prescribed *by the Constitution*, and against those monstrous retrospective test-oaths which were never written in the English language, much less adopted by a deliberative body, until they were forced upon the country by the present legislative mob called the Congress of the United States.

The resolutions of 1798-9 were the great expositions of Democratic truth. They have been revived in Kentucky in her late glorious election, and by forty thousand majority. A majority of more than one million of the people of the United States are Democrats. To them we look with hope for rescue. Their votes cast *for true men* is the only solution of our evils. I sincerely trust your convention will do well its specific work in such a manner as will meet the hearty approval of the general convention of the Democratic party when it may assemble to receive your co-operation. Inasmuch as I think your convention can best sustain the President under the guidance of those who placed him in power, who have concluded to abandon *the Democratic organization, among whom I am not* included, I most respectfully return to you my certificate of appointment.

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,
HENRY CLAY DEAN.

Letter from Hon. R. C. Winthrop.

The following noble letter from Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, was read at the executive rooms:

BROOKLYN, August 9.—Hon. Leverett Saltonstall: My Dear Sir—I am sincerely sensible of the honor conferred upon me yesterday by the meeting at Faneuil Hall, over which you presided, in placing my name at the head of the delegates at large to the National Union convention. But, as I had previously intimated to more than one of our friends, it will not be in my power to go to Philadelphia next week. I am quite unwilling, however, to decline the appointment without a distinct expression of my hearty concurrence in the general views of those by whom that convention has been called, and *of my earnest hope* that its deliberations may conduce to the earliest practicable restoration of all the States of the Union to the exercise of their constitutional powers, and to the enjoyment of their constitutional privileges in the national government.

I can add nothing, I am aware, to the arguments which others have already presented on this subject, and I gladly avail myself of the language of Judge Curtis in his late admirable letter: "To suppose that the government of the United States can, in a state of peace, rightfully hold and exercise absolute and unlimited power over a part of its territory and people just so long as it may choose to do so, appears to me unwarranted by any rules of public law, abhorrent to right reason, and inconsistent with the nature of our government." With Judge Curtis, too, I hold to the opinion "that the *southern States* are now as rightfully, and should be as effectually, in the Union as they were before the madness of their people attempted to carry them out."

Most happily, Congress did not adjourn without admitting to their seats the senators and representatives of Tennessee; but that very act has rendered it all the more difficult to discover anything of constitutional principle, or anything of true national policy in its persistent denial of all *representation* to the other southern States. Congress has ample means of protecting itself and of protecting the country from the presence of disloyal men in the halls of legislation, by the simple exercise of the power, which each branch possesses, of deciding without appeal on the qualifications of its own members. Had the case of each individual senator or representative elected from ten States, lately in rebellion, *been taken up by itself and fairly considered* on its own merits, agreeably to the wise suppositions of President Johnson, no one could have complained whatever might have been the result. But I know not how either branch could have consented, as it has done, to compromise its constitutional independence by submitting any question as to its members either to legislative or executive discretion.

This great question of representation is not a question which concerns only the southern States, who, I know, are regarded by not a few unrelenting men as having forfeited all rights which the northern States are bound to respect. It is a question which concerns the Constitution and the whole country. The people of the whole Union have a right to demand of their public servants an exact and faithful observance of the Constitution and of all its provisions. It was to enforce and vindicate that Constitution that their blood and treasure have been poured out so lavishly during the last four years of civil war. Who could have believed, in advance, that a year and a half after that war had ended, and after the Union had been rescued and restored, so far as our gallant armies and navies could *accomplish it*, nearly one third of the States should still be seen knocking in vain at the doors of the Capitol, and should be denied even a hearing in the councils of the country? Such a course may, indeed, be calculated to prolong the predominance of a party, but it seems to me utterly inconsistent with the supremacy of the Constitution.

I have no disposition, however, to indulge in any imputations *either upon* parties or upon individuals. I hope that a spirit of forbearance and moderation will prevail at Philadelphia, notwithstanding the insulting and proscriptive tone in which the convention has been assailed by so many of the opponents of the President of the United States. But I shall be greatly disappointed, I confess, if through the influence of that convention, or through some other influence, the people *of the whole country* are not soon aroused to the danger of allowing the Constitution of the United States to be longer the subject of partial and discretionary observance on the part of those who are sworn to support it. It is vain to offer test oaths to others if we fail to fulfil our own oaths. The necessities of a state of war may be an excuse for many irregularities, both legislative and executive. But now that, by the blessing of God, *a state of peace* has been restored to us, we are entitled to the Constitution and the Union in all their legitimate authority and extent. Nothing less than the whole Constitution and the whole Union ought to satisfy us. For one I should despair of the restoration of law and order in ten southern States, and even of the maintenance of our own national credit, if there should fail to be exhibited at Washington something *of that scrupulous adherence* to the Constitution and the laws which characterized the earlier days of the republic. Nor could anything, in my judgment, be of more baleful influence upon the future career of our country than that Congress should ever seem to be holding in abeyance any provisions of the Constitution, until they shall have been changed, under duress in order to suit the opinions or secure the interests of a predominant party. *Against such a course of proceeding* I trust the convention at Philadelphia will put forth a seasonable and effective protest.

Once more regretting my inability to be present at the convention, and thanking all to whom I am indebted for the honor of being named as a delegate, I remain, dear sir, with great regard, very faithfully yours.

ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

Then, as if the tendency to letter writing had become epidemical, George Francis Train wrote one. Characteristic of the man, it produced intense amusement wherever read. His advice to the convention at the close of his letter is the most admirable suggestion yet submitted to that body. Train's letter was:

WITHDRAWAL.

NEBRASKA DELEGATION, Convention Morning, Parlor No. 5, August 14, 1866.—To the Executive Committee: My proxy is in your hands. I wanted harmony. We have it. Some time since I proposed to withdraw if one or two others would. They kept their promise; I keep mine. The following despatch to the President expresses my views, and I congratulate you all on the result

DESPATCH TO THE PRESIDENT.

To the President of the United States, Washington, D. C.: Your convention is already a gigantic success; all harmonious; everybody shaking hands; National Union party a great fact; conservative Congress secured.

GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN,
Nebraska Delegation.

"The Union must and shall be preserved," said Mr. Jackson.

"The Union must and shall be restored," said Mr. Johnson.

One million of Irish votes, representing six millions of the Irish race in America (instead of asking the convention to pass a resolution friendly to Irish nationality), respectfully offer the following platform for its consideration:

THE IRISH-AMERICAN PLATFORM.

"We pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor to maintain the Union, the Constitution, and the Laws."

THE NATIONAL UNION PARTY.

Permit me to add a suggestion:
Tuesday—Organize.
Wednesday—Pass resolutions.
Thursday—Adjourn.
Friday, and every day till fall elections, all the delegates should make speeches for the National Union Party, thereby burying forever the two offensive words —Democrat and Republican.

Sincerely, GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

The convention, as we saw, commenced to fill rapidly, until at 12.30 the entire amphitheatre was crowded. In the music stand over the main entrance was stationed the band of the National Union Johnson Club. It opened the exercises with a flourish of trumpets, a roll of drums and blare of bugles. The echoes rolling through the long galleries were answered by a *storm* of applause that drowned the notes of the band and made the very roof-trees shake. At half-past twelve, Postmaster General Randall rose to call the convention to order. As he stepped to the front, a commotion at the entrance attracted attention to the vestibule. A wild cheer that filled the vast theatre burst from every man present, when *arm-in-arm, along the corridor*, were seen approaching the veteran wag, General D. H. Couch, of Massachusetts, and Governor Orr, of South Carolina. In close file behind them came the other delegates of the two States, entering, side by side, the amphitheatre.

Those who saw the entrance of the two delegations will not soon forget it. The *scene itself* was one of profound enthusiasm. Every tongue in the convention added to the cheers that rose like the roar of many waters, and the whole audience stood uncovered as the double lines filed into the centre of the building. But thinking men felt a deeper significance in the union. They saw, for the first time since the old Whig party died under the shroud of its silvery-voiced leader, a *national organization* that would be again to the land a shield and guide, as the honest yeomanry of the North and South were in the days of Clay. They saw a knitting of interests, a burial of faction, and a resurrection in the hearts of men of the principles of true and national devotion to a land whose only destiny is to be chief among the powers of the earth. The Massachusetts and South *Carolina delegations* were seated, and the convention regularly opened.

Hon. John Hogan, of Missouri, then rose and called for three cheers for thirty-six States. The response came before he could give the signal. Three united shouts made the roof-trees ring again. Three more were given for Andrew Johnson, three for the Union, and then the three times three were increased to a *dozen by three more for* the red, white, and blue.

When the cheers subsided Governor Randall said:

For the purpose of the temporary organization of this convention, I propose the name of General John A. Dix, of New York, as temporary chairman.

The proposition was unanimously acceded to. Fifteen hundred yeas answered the question, and while the cheering broke out afresh the veteran was escorted to his seat. When he appeared before the convention, his hair frosted with age, but his face aglow with patriotic love for his country, he looked the *embodiment of the Union soldier* who now as ever would shoot on the spot any man who would dare to dishonor the Union of our fathers. In respectful silence the convention listened to the

Opening Address of General Dix.

Gentlemen of the convention and fellow-citizens of the whole Union: I return to you my sincere thanks for the honor you have done me in choosing me to preside temporarily over your deliberations. I regard it as a *distinction of no ordinary character, not only* on account of the high moral and political standing of the gentlemen who compose this convention, but because it is a convention of the people of all the States of this Union, and because it cannot fail, if its proceedings are conducted with harmony and good judgment, to lead to most important results. It may be truly said that no body of men has met on this continent under circum*stances so momentous* and so delicate since the year 1787, the year when our ancestors assembled in this city to frame a better government for the States that were united under the old confederacy, a government which has been made more enduring, we trust, by the fearful trials and perils it has encountered, and the Constitution which they came here to form we are here to vindicate and to restore. [Cheers.] We are here to *assert the supremacy of representative government over* all who are within the confines of the Union—a government which cannot permit the violation of its principles or of the protection it extends to the people who are represented in it, over those who by virtue of that representation are entitled to a voice in the administration of the public affairs. [Cheers.] It was such a government our fathers framed and put in operation. It is the government *which we are bound by every con*sideration of fidelity, justice, and good faith to defend and maintain. Gentlemen, we are not living under such a government. Thirty-six States have for many months been governed by twenty-five

Eleven States have been wholly without representation in the legislative body. That numerical proportion of the represented and unrepresented has been changed by the admission of the *delegation from* Tennessee—a unit taken from the smaller and added to the larger number. Ten States are still denied the representation in Congress to which they are entitled under the Constitution. It is this wrong which we have come here to protest against, and, as far as in us lies, to redress. [Long and continued applause.] When the President of the United States declared that armed resistance to the authority *of the Union* was over, *all the States* had a right to be represented in the legislative body. [Applause.] They had the right under the Constitution. They had the right under resolutions passed by both houses of Congress in 1861. [Applause.] Those resolutions were not concurrent, but they were substantially identical Moreover, they were entitled to be so represented on other grounds of fairness and good faith. The *President*, not in pursuance of any constitutional power, had called on the Confederate States to accept conditions of their admission to the exercise of their legitimate functions as members of the Union—the ratification of the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery, and the repudiation of the debts contracted to overthrow the government. These conditions were made and accepted. The exaction of new conditions is unjust, a violation of the faith of the government, subversive of the principles of our political system, and dangerous to the public prosperity and peace. [Applause.] Each house of Congress is made a judge of the qualifications of its members, and can reject individuals for just cause; but the two bodies act conjointly, and cannot exclude entire delegations without an unwarrantable assumption of power. [Applause.]

Congress has not only done this; it has gone further. It has incorporated new conditions in amendments to the Constitution, and submitted them for the ratification of the States. There is no probability that these amendments will be ratified by three-fourths of the States of the Union. To insist on the conditions they contain is to prolong indefinitely the exclusion of more than one-fourth of the States from their representation in Congress. Is this the government our fathers fought to establish? [Cries of No, no.] Is this the government we have been fighting to preserve? [Cries of No, no.] The President has done all in his power to correct this wrong [applause and cheering], to restore the legislative body to its full proportions by giving to the members of the Union their proper place in the public councils. Legislation without representation is an anomaly under our political system. No! In our form of government it would be another name for usurpation and misrule.

Gentlemen, I trust that in our deliberations here we shall confine ourselves to one main purpose—that of redressing the wrong to which I have referred. There is much in the administration of our government which needs amendment—some things to be done and others to be undone. There are commercial and financial reforms which are indispensable to the public welfare, but we shall not have the power to carry out these until we change the political complexion of Congress. [Loud cheering and applause.] This should be our first, our immediate aim. [Applause.] It is in the congressional districts that the vital contest is to take place. The control of one body will enable us to prevent partial, unjust, and pernicious legislation. But the control of both houses, with the power to introduce and carry out salutary reforms to bring the government back, in the language of Jefferson, "to the republican track," will come later. [Applause.] But with wise, harmonious, judicious action on our part, and on the part of those we represent, it need not be long delayed. [Applause.] I believe that public opinion is right; that it is only necessary to present to the people clearly the issues between us and those which control the action of Congress. And, gentlemen, is not the object for which we are contending a consummation worthy of our highest and most devoted efforts [applause] to bring back the republic, purify it, strengthen it by the fiery ordeal through which it has passed, and to its ancient prosperity and power? [Loud cheers and applause.] To present to the world an example worthy of imitation, with no Utopian vision of good government, but with the grand old reality of better times [applause] with which the memory of our fathers, the recollections of the past, and all our hopes of the future are inseparably entwined. [Applause.] One country, one flag, one Union of equal States. [Loud and continued cheering and applause.]

The Prayer.

Amid a hush so profound that the lull succeeding the tempestuous applause that followed the close of General Dix's address seemed awesome, the opening prayer was offered. Rev. J. N. McDonough was the priest who, between the horns of his country's altar, supplicated the divine blessing on the convention and its labors. While all stood in reverent stillness he offered adoration:

O Lord! high and mighty Ruler of the universe, we, Thy dependent and needy creatures, humbly draw near to Thee, in the name of Thy beloved Son, our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Have mercy upon us according to Thy loving kindness; according unto the multitude of Thy tender mercies, blot out our transgressions. We bless Thy great and holy name for the innumerable mercies Thou hast in Thy loving kindness bestowed on us as a christian people. We bless Thee for the establishment and maintenance here *of religious and civil* liberty, and especially, O Lord, do we praise Thee for the interposition of Thy power in our behalf in the late troubles which have been permitted to come upon our beloved country. We bless Thee that Thou hast brought to an end the fearful struggle in which the nation has been engaged, and that the Union is preserved. Verily, Thou art a God that doeth wonders! Thou canst make the *wrath of* man to praise Thee, and Thou canst restrain the power thereof. We thank Thee that Thou hast put in the hearts of Thy servants here present to assemble from various parts of our land to consult for the public good; and now, O Most Mighty and *Most* Holy, let Thy blessing rest upon this convention. May Thy servants come together as brothers and as friends; help them to lay aside all selfish motives, all unworthy, *personal*, and *sectional considerations*; enlighten their counsels, guide them in all their deliberations, so that the union of these States may be fully restored, and may be rendered perpetual. Restore their prosperity as at the first, and their peace and fraternity as at the beginning. Bless the country in all its interests, in its agriculture, its commerce, and in the mechanical arts, in its churches and its religious and be*nevolent institutions*. Avert from us, we beseech Thee, the pestilence that walketh in darkness and the destruction that wasteth at noontide, and all the judgments which our sins deserve. And oh, most merciful God, our Heavenly Father, we beseech Thee to manifest thy special favor upon Thy servant, the President of the United States. May his health and life be precious in Thy sight; make him a great and lasting bless*ing to the country over which, in Thy wonderful* favorable Providence, he has been called to bear rule; bless his constitutional advisers; guide him with wisdom and with strength in every emergency. We pray Thee, O Lord, that he may be a just ruler in the fear of God, even the light of the morning, when the sun ariseth—a morning without clouds—and as the tender grass springing from the earth after rain. And especially, O *Lord! wilt thou* crown the efforts of thy servant in maintaining the Union of these States inviolate, with the Constitution established by our fathers. Bless all nations and their rulers. Let the gospel be spread abroad. Thy kingdom come everywhere. Let oppression disappear among men. Let righteousness and peace reign over the whole earth. These are our petitions, these are our requests. O Lord, hear! O Lord, for*give! O Lord*, hearken, and for His sake, our great Redeemer, who hath taught us when we pray to say, "Our Father who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us; lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever." *Amen.*

General J. B. Steedman, of Ohio, then secured the floor and said:

Gentlemen, I hold in my hand a resolution for the appointment of a committee on credentials, which I *offer for the consideration of the convention.*

On motion of Mr. Randall the following gentlemen were appointed secretaries of the convention: E. O. Perrine, New York; J. F. Coyle, District of Columbia; Andrew Ross Potts, Pennsylvania; J. R. O'Byrne, District of Columbia.

General Dix then directed the reading of the call of the convention.

Mr. E. O. Perrine amid repeated applause read the following call:

The Call.

A National Union Convention, of at least two delegates from each congressional district of all the States, two from each Territory, *two from the District* of Columbia, and four delegates at large from each State, will be held at the city of Philadelphia on the second Tuesday (14th) of August next.

Such delegates will be chosen by the electors of the several states who sustain the administration in maintaining unbroken the union of the States under the Constitution which our fathers established, and who agree in the following propositions, viz.:

The union of the States is, in every case, indissoluble, and is perpetual; and the Constitution of the United States, and the laws passed by Congress in pursuance thereof, supreme and constant, and universal in their obligation.

The rights, the dignity, and the equality of the States in the Union, including the right of representation in Congress, are solemnly guaranteed by that Constitution, to save which from overthrow so much blood and treasure were expended in the late civil war.

There is no right, anywhere, to dissolve the Union, or to separate States from the Union, either by voluntary withdrawal, by force of arms, or by congressional action; neither by the secession of the States, nor by the exclusion of their loyal and qualified representatives, nor by the national government in any other form.

Slavery is abolished, and neither can nor ought to be re-established in any State or Territory within our jurisdiction.

Each State has the undoubted right to prescribe the qualifications of its own electors, and no external power rightfully can, or ought to, dictate, control, or influence the free and voluntary action of the States in the exercise of that right.

The maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially of the right of each State to order and control its own domestic concerns, according to its own judgment exclusively, subject only to the Constitution of the United States, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend, and the overthrow of that system by the usurpation and centralization of power in Congress would be a revolution, dangerous to republican government and destructive of liberty.

Each house of Congress is made, by the Constitution, the sole judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its members; but the exclusion of loyal senators and representatives, properly chosen and qualified, under the Constitution and laws, is unjust and revolutionary.

Every patriot should frown upon all these acts and proceedings everywhere, which can serve no other purpose than to rekindle the animosities of war, and the effect of which upon our moral, social and material interests at home, and upon our standing abroad, differing only in degree, is injurious like war itself.

The purpose of the war having been to preserve the Union and the Constitution by putting down the rebellion, and the rebellion having been suppressed, all resistance to the authority of the general government being at an end, and war having ceased, war measures should also cease, and should be followed by measures of peaceful administration, so that union, harmony, and concord may be encouraged, and industry, commerce, and the arts of peace revived and promoted; and the early restoration of all the States to the exercise of their constitutional powers in the national government is indispensably necessary to the strength and the defense of the Republic, and to the maintenance of the public credit.

All such electors in the thirty-six States and nine Territories of the United States and in the District of Columbia who, in a spirit of patriotism and love for the Union, can rise above personal and sectional considerations, and who desire to see a truly National Union convention, which shall represent all the States and Territories of the Union, assemble as friends and brothers, under the national flag, to hold counsel together upon the state of the Union, and to take measures to avert possible danger from the same, are specially requested to take part in the choice of such delegates.

But no delegate will take a seat in such convention who does not loyally accept the national situation and cordially endorse the principles above set forth, and who is not attached, in true allegiance, to the Constitution, the Union, and the government of the United States.

A. W. RANDALL, President.
J. R. DOOLITTLE,
O. H. BROWNING,
EDGAR COWAN,
CHARLES KNAP,
SAMUEL FOWLER,
Executive Committee National Union Club.
Washington, June 25, 1866.

Senator Doolittle—With the leave of the gentleman from Ohio, and before the motion is put on his resolution to appoint a committee on credentials, I ask leave to submit the following resolutions, which have reference to the order of business in the convention. The first resolution, which I offer with his leave, will be this:

Resolved, That until otherwise ordered, the general rules of the House of Representatives of the United States, so far as applicable, will govern the proceedings of this convention, and until otherwise ordered, in case any questions shall arise to be determined by a division, or by the ayes and nays, the secretary shall call the roll of all the States and Territories of the United States and the District of Columbia; each State, as called, shall be entitled to cast double the number of votes to which it is entitled in the electoral college, as its delegation shall direct; and each Territory, and also the District of Columbia, shall be entitled to cast two votes, as their several delegations shall direct.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Senator Doolittle—I desire also to submit the following resolution:

Resolved, That all resolutions and propositions not relating to the organization of the convention be referred by the chair to the committee on resolutions, hereafter to be appointed, without debate; and that all resolutions, propositions, and questions relating to the right or claim of any person to a seat in the convention be referred by the chair to the committee on credentials, hereafter to be appointed, without debate; and that until the appointment of such committees they do lie upon the table without debate.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

The secretary—The following resolution is offered by General Steedman, of Ohio:

Resolved, That a committee of thirteen shall be appointed by the chair as a committee on credentials.

This resolution was unanimously adopted.

Montgomery Blair—I wish to offer the following resolution providing for the permanent organization of this convention:

Resolved, That a committee of one from each State be appointed by the chair to report officers for the permanent organization of the convention. Adopted.

Mr. Florence—It strikes me, sir, inasmuch as there is great misapprehension as to the character of the delegates to this body, that the secretary be requested to read a circular issued over the signatures of Judge Blair, General Campbell, etc., etc.

This well-known supplementary call was then read. To which Mr. Florence objected, as not the one referred to.

The congressional call issued by Niblack, Thornton, and others was also read.

E.O. Perrine—I will now read the appointments made on the two committees, that on credentials and that on organization.

They are as follows:

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

James B. Steedman, Ohio,
N. D. Coleman, Louisiana,
Thomas Hayne, Illinois,
C. P. Daly, New York,
David Kilgore, Indiana,
J. B. Campbell, S. C.,
A. Hyatt Smith, Wisconsin,
G. M. Ives, Connecticut,
B. H. Epperson, Texas,
William N. Blair, N. H.,
Asbel Green, New Jersey,
J. McFerran, Missouri,
J. R. Franklin, Maryland.

COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Nathaniel Little, Maine,
F. A. Hibbard, N. H.,
J. J. Deavitt, Vermont,
E. A. Alger, Massachusetts,
A. Ballou, Rhode Island,
Loren P. Waldo, Conn.,
W. H. Ludlow, New York,
Joel Parker, New Jersey,
A. W. Tracy, Penna.,
Jos. M. Barr, Delaware,
T. S. Flournoy, Virginia,
John S. Thompson, W. V.,
W. Wright, N. Carolina,
T. N. Dawkins, S. Carolina,
Porter Ingraham, Ga.,
I. B. Dawkins, Florida,
G. F. Bailey, Minnesota,
G. G. Perham, Louisiana,
J. B. Lace, Arkansas,
B. H. Epperson, Texas,
Joseph Ramsey, Tenn.,
Alexander White, Ala.,
Hon. E. A. Chew, Ky.,
George Trigs, Ohio,
Col. D. G. Rose, Indiana,
Hon. Thos. J. Turner, Ill.,
Gen. A. A. Stevens, Mich.,
H. M. Price, Minnesota,
L. B. Viley, Wisconsin,
G. H. Murphy, Iowa,
N. Smith, Kansas,
Hon. Saml. Purdy, Cal.,
W. H. Farrir, Oregon,
Owen Thorn, D. C.,
J. W. Turner, Dakotah,
T. W. Beas, Idaho,
Hon. J. S. Morton, Nebr'ka
Elwood Evans, Washing'n

On motion of Montgomery Blair, the convention then adjourned to meet again at noon to-day.

So ended the first day of the convention. Its proceedings, opened with conservative wisdom, were harmonious to the close. In perfect concord the great assemblage dispersed. The rain fell heavily as the convention left the wigwam. Late last evening the clouds seemed breaking under the promise of a pleasant morrow. To the Union men of the entire country, the sun of this morning will be the sun of a second Austerlitz.

Wednesday August 15.

The second day of the convention opened auspiciously. The fog of the morning lifted before noon, and when the delegates began to move toward the wigwam the sun stole out from behind the clouds, and its bright rays lay like golden fragments on the pavement and streets below. The wigwam was completed by the time it was opened to the public. At ten o'clock the people began to enter, and when the delegates commenced arriving the building rapidly filled. The cars on the roads leading to the wigwam were utterly insufficient to accommodate the people on Monday. Yesterday, although the vehicles were crowded to the guards' more walked to the convention than could procure conveyance.

At eleven o'clock the delegates began to assemble. They came first by twos and threes. Then knots of men in earnest conversation strolled into the amphitheatre, and finally the tide turning steadily into the wigwam it filled rapidly. When the delegations began arriving, Massachusetts and South Carolina entered in the same familiar intercourse that had been so happily inaugurated on Monday. Pennsylvania's double delegations assumed places near the front, Senator Cowan and Judge Black representing the two wings of the party of the President, now thoroughly and intimately fused. The crowd at the doors grew every minute until along the avenue the line of unfortunate outsiders would have filled a moderate wigwam of their own. The precaution taken by the National Union Johnson Club to issue tickets of admission prevented undue crowding and any difficulty within the wigwam, but the throng without jostled and surged at the direction of the police, until after the adjournment of the convention.

Hiester Clymer Enters.

About noon Hiester Clymer entered the wigwam. He is a small but well-knit man, roundly built, with a clear, honest face, pleasantly wrinkled. His eyes are filled with perpetual laughter. As he entered the amphitheatre a hundred eyes recognized him, and he was everywhere hailed. An enthusiastic Democrat in the gallery proposed three cheers for him, and they were given with stentorian effect. Before he could reach the seats of the Pennsylvania delegation and hide in the centre of the delegates his hand was shaken until it must have lost sensibility.

The place when the convention opened was the most compact mass of humanity ever seen in this or any other city. There was no vacant seat in the entire building. The delegates in solid body filled the amphitheatre. Upon the stage were crowded the officers and the united and honored guests of the convention. Major General Henry W. Slocum came accredited as a delegate from California. Major General Alexander McDowell McCook and Major General S. Wylie Crawford appeared side by side, and the statesmen and generals who were present upon the platform and in the amphitheatre defy particularization. The reporters were too numerous for their limited accommodations. They sat on the seats of the platform, squatted on the floor, and found covert in any corner that presented. A number of them improvised desks of the ends of boards thrown into the yard, and with the uncouth blocks on their knees sketched the proceedings. Wherever the eye fell a sea of upturned faces was presented. Every avenue was filled. The lobby was a jam. The vestibule was so crowded that eleventh-hour delegates could with difficulty enter, and even the music stand was crowded by the inner circle of people, forced by the pressure from below. When General Dix called the convention to order, there were at least twelve thousand people within the building. In decorous and respectful quiet they awaited the commencement of the exercises.

The Opening.

General Dix opened the ball. Three sharp raps of his wooden gavel seated the delegates and the convention was ready for business. The president presented Rev. Mr. Holsinger, of Washington, Tennessee, who solemnly prefaced the exercises with the following prayer:

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Thy Home hath been the dwelling place for all generations, before we were brought forth. Even from everlasting to everlasting Thou art God. And in the name of Thy Son, Jesus Christ, we ask Thee for his sake to pardon all our sins! In Thy Providence we have been brought together here for a special purpose, and we ask the kind Father to give us a portion of His Holy spirit on the present occasion, and that Thou wouldst give us to feel the responsibilities which rest upon us; and as millions in all future times are to be affected for weal or for woe by the doings of this convention, may we be imbued with infinite wisdom.

May we feel glad that the storms of war have passed by, and that we are permitted to reunite under the arch, and all our States to be represented together.

We ask Thee, kind Father, that the stars on the field of our national emblem may be cemented, and that our Union be what it represents to be. May it be permanent; may it be lasting; and in order that this occasion may be successful, we ask Thee, kind Father, to give us the spirit of our fathers, that their mantles may fall upon us. May the spirit of 1776 abide and dwell among us in this convention, and may God bless us all together.

We ask Thee for temporary prosperity, that it may rest upon the land. May peace reign everywhere. May our fields produce an abundance. May our goods be increased, and may we appropriate them all to the beneficent purposes of promoting the good of our race and the glory of God.

Bless, oh God, our future convention proceedings.

And especially let Thy blessing rest upon the President of these United States. Give him the head and heart and hands to accomplish Thy mighty work which thou hast been pleased to give him to do.

And we pray Thee to encircle us in Thy arms, for we are all living creatures. In a few years we will be called, and we will sleep in the silence of the tomb, as our fathers do to-day.

Impress our hearts with the solemnity of the occasion. May we be honest men. May we act singly for the good of the country, and for Thy glory. May we fear God, and keep His commandments, and when we come to be changed from being in the world, may we die in peace with our fellow men, having faith in God, and finally, through the blood of our Blessed Redeemer, may we shout the song of triumph at the right hand of Thy Majesty on high forever and forever. Amen.

Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, then obtained the floor. He moved that the committee on organization be called upon to report the permanent officers of the convention. Unanimously adopted.

The report was handed to General Dix. He gave it to Secretary Perrine, who announced that he would read the report. The announcement of the president, Hon. James R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, awoke the most enthusiastic applause. Cheer after cheer echoed from the amphitheatre to the galleries, and then, increased in volume four-fold, swelled to the very roof-trees. The secretary laid the paper down and watched the scene. The convention closed the plaudits with three full-grown cheers, and the additional officers were read:

VICE PRESIDENTS.

Leonard Wood, Maine,
Edwin Marsh, N. H.,
Hiram Clark, Vermont,
W. B. Hill, Massachusetts,
A. Anthony, Rhode Island,
Hon. O. F. Winchester, Kentucky,
Hon. J. F. Paxton, N. Y.,
John Mershamberg, N. J.,
Asa Packer, Pennsylvania,
A. R. Stockwell, Delaware,
Gen. Packer, Maryland,
Hon. John W. Poindexter, Virginia,
James Lerman, W. Va.,
John A. Gilmer, N. C.,
Judge B. J. Wardlaw, S. C.,
Richard F. Lyon, Georgia,
Judge T. Lindall, Florida,
G. A. Childs, Mississippi,
Cuthbert Bullitt, La.,
Gen. E. G. Burnett, Texas,
Thos. A. R. Nelson, Tenn.,
G. F. Hewston, Alabama,
Hon. J. W. Radway, Tenn.,
Hon. Rufus B. Haney, O.,
E. K. Greene, Illinois,
Hon. J. Hogan, Missouri,
Franklin Seal, Minnesota,
Gilbert Montgomery, Wis.,
Edward Johnson, Iowa,
J. L. Pedrick, Kansas,
W. D. Heman, California,
Hon. G. L. Corwin, Ark.,
Joseph H. Hoey, D. C.,
Judge T. W. Turner, Dakotah,
G. L. Miller, Nebraska,
Hon. B. F. Hill, Colorado,
Ellwood Evans, Washington Territory.

SECRETARIES.

James Kane, Maine.
S. S. Cutler, N. H.
George H. Simonds, Vt.
Charles Wright, Mass.
James Parsons, R. I.
James Hake, Kentucky.
E. O. Perrine, New York.
Thomas Wilson, N. J.
A. Weaver, Pennsylvania.
J. H. Clarke, Delaware.
Dr. W. W. Watkins, Md.
Edward Singleton, Va.
Henry W. Walker, W. Va.
S. S. Patton, N. C.
Jim Simons, S. C.
H. S. Creston, Georgia.
A. G. Missbern, Mississippi.
A. W. Walker, Louisiana.
Louis Goodwin, Arkansas.
J. M. Lanner, Texas.
John Miller, Tennessee.
John Daystree, Alabama.
M. H. Aslin, Kentucky.
E. Beaslin, Ohio.
John Maginnis, Illinois.
General John B. Burk, Michigan.
L. Wilkinson, Missouri.
John L. Goodwin, Wis.
S. O. Packer, Iowa.

President Doolittle's Address.

Mr. Doolittle stepped to the front of the platform. General Dix, vacating the chair, offered it to the senator. Then the applause burst out anew. The convention rose and hailed its president. A great shout that shook the building greeted Mr. Doolittle as he came forward, and the cheers, protracted for three minutes, filled every part of the vast theatre. It subsided at length, and he spoke:

Gentlemen of the convention and fellow-citizens of the United States: For the distinguished honor of being called upon to preside over the deliberations of this convention I thank you. I could have wished that these responsibilities had fallen upon another, but relying upon that courtesy and generous confidence which has called me to the chair, I enter at once upon upon its duties with an earnest desire for the success of the great cause in which we are engaged. Among the great events of our own day, this convention, in my opinion, will prove to be one of the greatest, for peace has her victories, not less renowned than war, and this convention is one of her victories (immense applause); may I not say a crowning victory? [Renewed applause.] For the first time in six years a national convention representing all the States now assembles. Six long, weary years! As we look back, what an interim of blood and agony and tears! During that period we have been engaged in the most gigantic civil war the world has ever seen, wasting our immense resources and watering hundreds of battle-fields with the blood of our fathers and brothers; but, thank God, the war is now over. [Cheers.] Peace, blessed peace, has come, and the assurances which we here witness tell us that peace has come and come to stay. [Deafening applause.]

Oh! my fellow citizens, if the whole people of the United States could at this moment look in upon this convention, and if they could see what we now witness, the North and the South, and East and the West, joining together in fraternal association, as friends and fellow citizens, our work would be already done. If they could have seen as we saw Massachusetts and South Carolina, by their full delegations, coming into this place arm-in-arm; if they could have seen the body greater in numbers, in character, and in weight of brain than ever before assembled on this continent under one roof, melting into tears of joy and gratitude to witness this commingling, there would be no struggle at the polls in the coming election. When I remember that it was Massachusetts and South Carolina that in the convention that framed that Constitution voted against the abolition of the slave trade, that it was Massachusetts men in 1812, at their solemn convening, who taught the doctrine of the nullification which South Carolina reasserted in 1833, and in the form of secession again reasserted in 1860; when I call to mind that South Carolina fired the first gun in this contest, and that the men of Massachusetts poured out the first blood for the flag—when I call up all these memories, and see the two great States of Massachusetts and South Carolina coming here in fraternal embrace, approaching the common altar of a common country ready to make any sacrifice for the good of the whole—I say, again, could the whole people of the Union witness all this, there would remain no further work for it to do. [Protracted cheers.] If the people of Massachusetts themselves could have witnessed it not a single member would be returned to Congress from that State [cheers] until he had given the most sacred pledge that he would do all in his power in Congress to recognize the equality and dignity of all the States under the Constitution, including the sacred, inalienable right of every State, under the Constitution, to representation in both houses of Congress. [Cries of "Good!" and applause.]

Gentlemen of the convention, I shall go into no argument on this occasion. The distinguished gentleman who preceded me said all that I would desire to say much better than I could say it. I endorse it, and take pleasure in the full endorsement of all that he said, sentence by sentence and word by word. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, unfortunately the whole people of the United States are not here to witness what is now transpiring. Therefore the greater work still rests upon us. From this time until the election of the next Congress we should be untiring in our exertions to see to it that, if this Congress shall continue to refuse the right of representation to equal States, the next Congress shall recognize them. [Wild applause.] When that is done, the Union is restored. [Cheers.] When the Union is restored we shall be prepared, in my judgment, to enter upon a higher and nobler career among the nations of the earth than has ever been occupied by any other government upon which the sun of heaven ever shone. [Applause.] We shall then stand in the vanguard of civilization and of liberty, and we shall lead by the light of our example all the other nations of the earth.

Gentlemen, without detaining you any further I shall at once enter upon the duties of the chair.

The President—Gentlemen who have been chosen as vice presidents and secretaries of the convention will now please come forward and take their seats upon the right and left of the chair, and while they are doing so the music will please continue.

General Steedman, of Ohio—I beg leave to make a report from the committee on credentials.

The President—The secretary will read the report.

The committee on credentials report that they have considered the credentials of all the delegates presented to them, and that in no State has any contest occurred except in Maine, Delaware and New York. And in these cases they have made the following dispositions:

The delegation elected by the meeting held at Portland, headed by Governor Crosby, in the opinion of the committee, are entitled to admission as delegates from the State of Maine.

The committee recommend that the delegation from Delaware, elected by the meeting held at Dover, on the 26th of July, be admitted as delegates from that State.

The committee recommend that the persons chosen by the meeting held at Wilmington on the 2d of August be admitted to honorary seats in the convention.

They also recommend that the gentlemen attending from the New York Service Society of Soldiers and Sailors, and the gentlemen recommended by the chairman of the New York delegation, be admitted to seats as honorary members; and that inasmuch as the reading of the list of delegates must occupy much time, the committee recommend that the reading be dispensed with, and that the list be published with the proceedings of the convention.

General Steedman—For the information of the convention, I would say that room 44, Continental Hotel, is the headquarters of the committee on credentials, and there a book is placed to enter the names of any further delegates.

For the purpose of enabling the convention to proceed at once to the business for which it was assemb'ed, I now move the previous question on the adoption of the resolution.

The previous question was sustained. The report was adopted.

Mr. Groesbeck, of Ohio—I desire, Mr. President, to present to this convention a letter from a gentleman who was elected to this convention, and who has resigned. I believe I may state to the convention that the letter is from C. L. Vallandigham. It is addressed to the convention, and I will merely state for information that I present the letter to this body as the organ of the united delegation of the State of Ohio, and being addressed to the convention I desire it be read.

The Chair—The gentleman from Ohio presents a letter from Honorable C. L. Vallandigham [cheers and hisses], and requests that the same shall be read. It is necessary before doing so that unanimous consent be given. Do I hear any objection?

Mr. Graham, of New York—I object.

Reverdy Johnson—Mr. President, I ask if you are entirely satisfied that it requires the unanimous consent of the convention to read the letter. If we have such a rule governing us I move that it be suspended.

Mr. Groesbeck—I second the motion, but hope the gentleman who offered the objection will withdraw it.

The motion to postpone the rule carried. The letter was read.

Mr. Vallandigham's Letter.

GIRARD HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA, August 14, 1866.—To the Chairman of the National Union Convention: Sir—I have this day received from the National Union Committee, through the Hon. William S. Groesbeck, chairman of the joint Ohio delegation to your convention, a ticket of admission as a delegate from that State. The Hon. General McCook, chairman of the Democratic delegation from Ohio, has also communicated to me the following resolution, this morning adopted by that delegation:

Resolved unanimously, by the Democratic Ohio delegation, That we recognize the right of Clement L. Vallandigham, a duly elected delegate from the Third congressional district of Ohio, to hold a seat in this convention. That we should regard his exclusion from such seat as an unjust and unwarrantable infringement of the rights of the Democracy of said district, and are ready to stand by him in the assertion of his rights and the rights of his constituents. That we endorse cordially the purity and patriotism of his motives, and his fitness to sit in said convention; yet for the sake of harmony and good feeling in the same, and in order to secure the great ends for which it is called, we consent to his withdrawal from the delegation, and from a seat in the convention, if, in his judgment, his duty to his constituents shall justify such a withdrawal.

Yielding my own deliberate convictions of duty and right to the almost unanimous opinion and decision of friends whose wisdom and soundness of judgment and sincerity and purity of motives I may not question, to the end that there shall be no pretext from any quarter for any controverted question or disturbing element in the convention to mar its harmony, or hinder in any way the good results for the cause of the Constitution, the Union, and public liberty, which shall follow from its deliberations and its action, I hereby withdraw from the Ohio delegation, and decline taking my seat in the convention.

The letter concluded with a few words explanatory of the position and policy of the writer, and a defense of the principles that have lately guided him in relation to national affairs.

Mr. Cowan, of Pennsylvania, then arose, amidst the most boisterous cheering, and offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of two from each State and Territory to report resolutions and an address.

The resolution was agreed to.

The Chair—I have just received the following despatch from the President of the United States, which the secretary will read. The despatch, read after three cheers had been given for the author, was:

The President's Despatch.

WASHINGTON, August 14.—To the Honorable O. H. Browning and A. W. Randall, Philadelphia Convention: I thank you for your cheering and encouraging despatch. The finger of Providence is unerring, and will guide you safely through. The people must be trusted and the country will be restored. My faith is unshaken as to the ultimate success.

ANDREW JOHNSON.

The committee on resolutions and address was then announced by the chairman and read by the secretary. The names of Cowan, chairman of the committee, Browning, Graham, and others, were loudly cheered.

Considerable time was consumed in completing the list of the representatives of the different States upon the committee, several of the western States and Territories not having reported to the secretary.

The committee reads as follows:

Honorable Edgar Cowan, of Pennsylvania, chairman.
R. D. Rice, Maine.
G. M. Weston, Maine.
C. D. Bowers, N. H.
H. Bingham, N. H.
C. N. Dayen, Vermont.
C. H. Williams, Vermont.
D. N. Conch, Mass.
Thomas Steer, R. I.
W. B. Lawrence, R. I.
O. S. Seymour, Conn.
—— Dixon, Conn.
H. J. Raymond, N. Y.
S. D. Chulk, N. Y.
Gen. Mott, New Jersey.
Edgar Cowan, Pa.
William Bigler, Pa.
J. P. Comegys, Delaware.
A. Stickly, Delaware.
Reverdy Johnson, Md.
J. P. Chrisfield, Md.
R. H. Parker, Virginia.
L. Meagher, Virginia.
Wm. A. Graham, N. C.
N. Boyden, N. C.
B. S. Perry, S. C.
—— McGowan, S. C.
J. R. Wright, Georgia.
B. W. Alexander, Ga.
William Marion, Florida.
Gov. Call, Florida.
G. C. Langdon, Alabama.
John Ray, Louisiana.
—— Murdock, Louisiana.
P. H. Epperson, Texas.
Wm. Ryers, Arkansas.
M. L. Bell, Arkansas.
Garrett Davis, Kentucky.
E. Heiss, Kentucky.
J. S. Ryan, Tennessee.
J. Baxter, Tennessee.
Saml. Hinckle, Ohio.
S. W. McCook, Ohio.
J. S. Davis, Indiana.
T. A. Hendricks, Indiana.
O. H. Browning, Illinois.
S. S. Marshall, Illinois.
P. W. McCleary, Mich.
C. E. Stewart, Michigan.
C. E. Eldridge, Wis.
J. R. Steele, Wisconsin.
Chas. Mason, Iowa.
T. H. Benton, Iowa.
C. W. Blaine, Kansas.
W. A. Dallas, Kansas.
G. G. M. Beebe, Nevada.
G. W. Barnum, Nevada.
R. J. Walker, California.
Senator McDougal, Cal.
G. S. Curry, Oregon.
Richard Merrick, D. C.
C. F. Powell, Idaho.
H. W. Depugh, Idaho.
Edward Randall, W. T.
G. P. Esty, New Mexico.
J. O. Brookhead, Mo.
A. A. King, Missouri.
H. M. Price, Minnesota.
L. Norton, Minnesota.
A. J. Fourke, Dakotah.

General Thomas B. Carroll, of New York—I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That there is justly demanded a revision of our national neutrality laws in consonance with the spirit of the age, the demands of commerce, and the position of the Union, and it is the duty of Congress to comply with the public demand for such revision.

The President—The resolution will be referred to the committee on resolutions.

Mr. Hayes, of Illinois—I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That the committee on resolutions be authorized and directed to report in print, and to supply each member of the convention with a copy of the resolutions reported at the time of their presentation.

A gentleman from New York—Do I understand that the chairman will not report directly to the convention?

The resolutions were again read.

Gentleman from New York—Mr. President, I was present when a resolution was adopted by your convention, requiring all resolutions presented to this convention to go to the committee on resolutions without debate.

The Chairman—According to the request of the gentleman from New York, the resolutions will go to the committee on resolutions under the rule already adopted. [Cheers.]

Mr. Hayes—I was in the convention when we made that the rule of our action, and I wish to say one single word. I understand, sir, the object of the order adopted by the convention to be that the resolutions which may come up before this convention shall go before the committee upon which they have bearing; that is, the resolution for a platform for this convention should be thus submitted. Now, sir, the resolution I propose is not a resolution of principles, but a resolution of action. It is a simple direction to make a report in such a manner that this convention may be fully aware of the resolutions before it before it acts upon them. Sir, I came to this convention with a sincere purpose and with an humble purpose. I came here, sir, with no personal object to attain, so far as I know, so help me God. Sir, I am a member of a party known as the Democratic party of this country. [Cheers.] I came here with the utmost enthusiasm for the great cause in which we are all united. Sir, I do not expect this convention to endorse any resolution taking any of my opinions up in any point in which the Union party differed from me. I only expect they will say nothing to which I, as a Constitution and Union-loving Democrat, cannot honestly subscribe. I know the sentiments of the Democratic party of this country. I am proud to be a member of it. I believe that if there ever was an enthusiastic party it is this party.

Mr. Ellis Lewis, of Pennsylvania—Mr. Chairman, I rise to a point of order. Is there anything before the chair? The chair decided that the resolution would go to the committee on resolutions. No appeal has been taken from the decision of the chair.

The Chair—There is really nothing before the convention. The gentleman from Illinois rose to a point of order.

Mr. Hayes, of Illinois—Sir, I only offer this resolution for the guidance of the convention. I intend to throw no impediment in the way of the proceedings of the convention. I am simply a Union Democrat, and do not wish any resolution presented which I cannot cordially endorse. I am well acquainted with the spirit of the Democratic party. [Cries of question, question.] I simply desire to say that I apprehend no objection will be made to the resolution in committee, or that nothing will be done by it that I cannot heartily approve. [Applause.]

Mr. Pershing, of Pennsylvania—I move that when the convention adjourns it be to meet to-morrow at twelve o'clock.

Mr. Bailey, of Massachusetts—I move an amendment of ten o'clock, and do it because I desire this convention to come to order early. There are a number of gentlemen here who desire to return home as soon as it is possible, and I desire ten o'clock substituted that the convention can complete its business to-morrow. [Great applause.]

The ten-o'clock motion was agreed to.

A gentleman from Pennsylvania rose—I have a memorial which I wish to present, and have it referred to a committee without reading.

Chairman—This is a memorial from the Kentucky delegation in their behalf.

Colonel Babcock—I have a statement to make, that the members are from Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, and were born in New England, and with the consent of this convention, they can make that address beautiful in its expression, eloquent in its appeal, full of the patriotism and glowing purpose which animate us. These have been read to us, and by a unanimous vote I have been requested to move that the address be made a part of the proceedings of this convention. [Cries of good, good.]

The memorial was sent to the committee.

Senator Cowan—The committee on resolutions report orally that they have met and organized, and will report to-morrow. They ask leave to sit again.

The convention then adjourned until ten o'clock this morning.

So ended the second day of the convention. The brief but interesting session was as harmonious as the opening day. Before the proceedings opened a man who had imbibed strong waters was ejected for indecorous language, but this was the only interruption to the convention. The presiding officer, Senator Doolittle, ruled with rare dignity and success. Perhaps no other man in the convention could have filled the immense wigwam with his voice as did Mr. Doolittle. The clear, ringing tones of Mr. Raymond or the deliberate and far-reaching sentences of Jeremiah S. Black could not have penetrated the extent of the vast theatre like the majestic diction of Senator Doolittle. His voice has all the massiveness that made Webster the greatest debater of the land, and the power of Mr. Doolittle's words, enforced by the solidity of his clear, well-measured tones, was the wonder of those who had never before heard him speak. The speech, as reported this morning by one of the phonographers of the *Daily News*, was short-handed while sitting on the edge of one of the gallery steps at the extreme right and rear of the speakers' desk. At this position, the least accessible to sound of any portion of the building, the only sentence that was indistinctly heard was the beautiful allusion to the first blood-sacrifice offered in the war by the men of Massachusetts. The speaker's voice faltered with uncontrollable emotion, as his mind went back to the day when his own brave boy laid down his *life for that Union* which the father now seeks to uphold. But the words, though broken in utterance with the sobs that smothered in the heart were perfectly audible. In all the front of the great building, the voice of the speaker, save in that one sentence, sounded like the clear ring of a bugle.

To Senator Doolittle in the chair the whole convention yielded deferential obedience. His decisions were given with remarkable promptitude and were always correct. Sunset Cox for years the great parliamentarian of the lower house, is not more familiar with the rulings of the congressional manual than is Senator Doolittle. The questions that were raised and the motions addressed to the chair were decided with a precision and rapidity that abridged the session at least one-third. Those who remember the chairmanship of John Covode, in the Radical convention that nominated the present Republican ticket in this State, will see the idea we desire to body forth.

At the hotels last evening the excitement was unabated. The evening was one of gratulation at the almost strange harmony that has characterized every movement of the convention. It will probably adjourn to-day. The general disposition of the members is averse to a protracted session for speech delivering. With the adoption of the resolutions, the future platform of the Union men of the country, and the promulgation of the address, the duties of the body will terminate. There are scores of gentlemen present in the city who are reputed orators of unequaled power. The whole of next week could be passed in the most eloquent and profitable exhortation that ever addressed any people. But the intention of the convention seems adverse. The decisive vote on the motion to meet this morning at an early hour indicates the completion of all the business of the convention to-day, and the final adjournment of a convention which, for ability, dignity, unanimity and sentiment, and methodical, business-like spirit, has never been equaled by any body of men who ever sat together under the flag of the Union.

Thursday, August 16.

The third day of the convention was the last. It was the most successful of the session, and in the limited compass of the few hours it was in session, it shaped and guided the future destiny of the nation to new prosperity and unity.

The throng at the wigwam was immense. The crowd that blocked Girard avenue an hour before the convention was called to order was so dense that the cars with difficulty passed and repassed the building. At nine o'clock everything at the wigwam was in perfect order. The policemen came to the ground and formed in line along the front. The doors were opened and ingress given to the throng outside. The eastern gallery was filled in ten minutes. A quarter of an hour later saw the entire galleries crowded, and before ten all the delegates were in their seats on the floor, and the convention awaited the opening of the proceedings. The delegations were social. By previous arrangement, each delegation sat together in a tier of benches specially marked out. On Tuesday and Wednesday each delegation preserved its limits. Yesterday they fraternized in the wigwam. In all parts of the building the delegations were mingled in friendly conversation. Georgia chatted with Wisconsin, and Indiana and Mississippi calculated in advance the issue of the great campaign that is opening before the nation. When the convention was rapped to silence the delegates were thoroughly mingled in all parts of the wigwam.

The scene at ten o'clock was one whose like was never before witnessed in this country. The benches of the building bore their human burden more thickly than Lake Erie vines bear the clustered Catawbas. Men, women, and children filled the building from the aisles of the amphitheatre, hermetically sealed, to the top tier of seats in the galleries. The crowd forced the inner row of the upper gallery into the ladies' circle, and a double file of policemen were sent for to preserve the distinction between the apartments. The galleries applauded the entrance of Senator Doolittle. The wigwam rang again with cheers when Senator Cowan entered. One by one the convention greeted the leaders of the new movement, Reverdy Johnson receiving a hearty round of applause.

At ten the president stepped to the platform. Senator Cowan quietly seated himself on the right, and Henry J. Raymond on the left, when the convention came to order. Prayer was offered by Rev. William Reed Snyder.

The Prayer.

O Lord God, Jehovah! King of kings! we adore Thee as the first, the brightest, and the best of beings. All things visible and invisible are Thy creation. Of old didst Thou lay the foundations of the earth; Thou filledst the heavens with Thine immensity; how then can we, creatures of the dust, come before Thy face? To save the mass and the chiefs of sinners Thou didst give the blood of Thy only begotten Son; Thou hast changed the covenant from that of works to that of grace. Oh, transcending mercy and grace, may we thus learn this to be the spirit of our Divine Lord and Master! We trust that in such a spirit this convention has assembled. Thou art the Author of that love of liberty which inspires our hearts. We believe that Thou art especially our country's God. We have been arrayed in a fearful conflict with each other—brother against brother. The walls of the widow and orphan have come up before Thy throne, but at last the representatives of all sections have come up to meet each other and reinaugurate their former Union. We invoke Thy sanction to rest upon the great work which we have in hand. May this great people be rallied around the Constitution of our fathers, imperishable through all future generations; and to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we give praise, now and forever. Amen.

The convention, after the regular opening for business, grew turbulently enthusiastic. Mr. Doolittle kindled the excitement into fever heat by reading the following:

DENVER, C. T., August 15.—Returns from all parts of the Territory render certain the election of A. C. Hunt, Administration candidate for delegate to Congress, over Chilcott, Radical.

The convention hailed the announcement with boisterous applause. Amid the confusion Reverdy Johnson obtained the floor, and moved the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed of two from each State, and one from each Territory, to wait upon the President, and present him with an authentic copy of the proceedings of this convention.

Agreed to.

Hon. Mr. Crowell, of New Jersey—I move, Mr. Chairman, the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That a National Union executive committee be appointed, to be composed of two delegates from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia.

Agreed to.

Mr. Cowan, of Pennsylvania—I present, Mr. Chairman, the

Resolved, That the thanks of the convention be tendered to Mayor McMichael, of Philadelphia, for his excellent police arrangements during the meeting of this convention.

Agreed to.

Mr. Knapp, of the District of Columbia—I offer the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of finance be appointed, to consist of two delegates from each State and Territory and the District of Columbia.

Agreed to.

Mr. Cowan—On behalf of the committee on resolutions and address, whose labors, commenced early yesterday afternoon, were protracted far into the night, I announce the result of our deliberations. I report, Mr. Chairman, the following resolutions and address. The resolutions will be read by Mr Secretary Perrine, the address by Hon. Henry J. Raymond, of New York.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The National Union convention now assembled in the city of Philadelphia, composed of delegates from every State and Territory in the Union, admonished by the solemn lessons which, for the last five years, it has pleased the Supreme Ruler of the Universe to give the American people; profoundly grateful for the return of peace; desirous, as a large majority of their countrymen, in all sincerity to forget and to forgive the past; revering the Constitution as it comes to us from our forefathers; regarding the Union in its restoration as more sacred than ever; looking with anxiety to the future as of instant importance, hereby issues and proclaims the following declaration of principles and purposes, on which they have with perfect unanimity agreed:

First. We hail with gratitude to Almighty God the end of the war and the return of peace to our afflicted and beloved country.

Second. The war just closed has maintained the authority of the Constitution, with all the powers which it confers and all the restrictions which it imposes upon the general government unabridged and unaltered; and it has preserved the Union, with the equal rights, dignity, and authority of the States perfect and unimpaired.

Third. Representation in the Congress of the United States and in the electoral college is a right recognized in the Constitution as abiding in every State, and as a duty imposed upon the people, fundamental in its nature, and essential to the existence of our republican institutions, and neither Congress nor the general government has any power or authority to deny this right to any State, or to withhold its enjoyment under the Constitution from the people thereof.

Fourth. We call upon the people of the United States to elect to Congress, as members thereof, none but men who admit this fundamental right of representation, and who will receive to seats therein loyal representatives from every State in allegiance to the United States, subject only to the constitutional right of each house to judge of the election, returns, and qualifications of its own members.

Fifth. The Constitution of the United States and laws made in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding. All powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the general government nor prohibited by it to States are reserved to the States, or to the people thereof, and among the rights thus reserved to the States is the right to prescribe the qualifications for the elective franchise therein, which right Congress cannot interfere with. No State or combination of States has the right to withdraw from the Union, or to exclude, through their action in Congress or otherwise, any other State or States from the Union. The Union of these States is perpetual, and cannot be dissolved.

Sixth. Such amendments to the Constitution of the United States may be made by the people thereof as they may deem expedient, but only in the mode pointed out by its provisions, and in proposing such amendment, whether by Congress or by a convention, and in ratifying the same, all the States of the Union have an equal and indefeasible right to a voice and a vote thereon.

Seventh. Slavery is abolished, forever prohibited, and there is neither desire nor purpose on the part of the southern States that it should ever be re-established upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States; and the enfranchised slaves in all the States of the Union should receive, in common with all their inhabitants, equal protection in every right of person and property.

Eighth. While we regard as utterly invalid and never to be assumed or made of binding force, any obligation incurred or undertaken in making war against the United States, we hold the debt of the nation to be sacred and inviolable, and we proclaim our purpose in discharging this duty, as in performing all other national obligations, to maintain, unimpaired and unimpeached, the honor and faith of the republic.

Ninth. It is the duty of the national government to recognize the services of the Federal soldiers and sailors in the contest just closed, by meeting promptly and fully all their just and rightful claims for services they have rendered the nation, and by extending to those of them who have survived, and to the widows and orphans of those who fell, the most generous and considerate care.

Tenth. In Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, who in his great office has proved steadfast to the Constitution and the laws, and the interest of his country; unmoved by persecution and undeserved reproach; having faith unassailable in the people, and in their principles of free government, we recognize a chief magistrate who is worthy of the nation and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is cast, and we tender to him, in the discharge of his high and responsible duties, our profound respect and the assurances of our cordial and sincere support.

The secretary read the resolutions with hearty emphasis. The first few sentences were recited amid a general stir at the lower end of the building that rendered the words inaudible. A rap of the president's gavel restored order. Then, amid breathless silence, the second resolution was read. The scene grew again animated. Delegations rose as if by instinct, and hailed the declaration. Cheer upon cheer filled the theatre, shout upon shout rolled up from the immense assemblage. The enthusiastic nature of the southern character found vent in a volume of cheers that rocked the wigwam like the rushing of a wind. The second, third, and fourth resolutions were read amid breathless attention. When the fourth was concluded, the convention by a common instinct rose. The galleries followed until all in the house stood, shouting in honor of the sentiment read by the secretary. The turbulence lasted fully five minutes. It subsided only to break forth afresh in another part of the building, and the waves of applause rolled like a flash along the entire floor. When the excitement abated the fifth, sixth and eighth resolutions were given. The eighth resolution pledging the support of the convention to the payment of the national debt, was heartily cheered. The ninth resolution, a resolution that reflected honor upon the head and heart of the man who drafted it, was received with tumultuous cheering, and then the tenth was read. It was only given by piecemeal. Sentence by sentence, as it was read, it elicited the wildest enthusiasm. The first words, "In Andrew Johnson, President of the United States," lifted the entire assemblage to their feet. Young and old, with uncovered heads saluted the name of the great statesman who has carried in the hollow of his hand for twelve months of unparalleled dissension the liberties of his country. Hats waved, handkerchiefs flourished, canes gyrated, and the whole audience hailed the honored name. Phrase by phrase, as the resolution was read, it was heartily applauded. And when the secretary read the closing sentence, "we recognize a chief magistrate who is worthy of the nation, and equal to the great crisis upon which his lot is cast, and we tender to him, in the discharge of his high and responsible duties, our profound respect, and the assurance of our cordial and sincere support," the assemblage rose again, and a united assent attested the hearty concurrence of all present with the spirit of the resolutions.

Senator Cowan moved their entire adoption.

The chair put the motion: "All who are in favor of the resolutions, as read, will answer in the affirmative."

The answer was given. Such a storm of "ayes" never before answered any question. The convention voted as a unit. When the negative was called for no one responded.

Mr. Raymond called the attention of the secretary to the fact that the seventh resolution had been omitted. The slip of paper on which the resolution was written had, unnoticed by that gentleman, fallen to the floor. It was at once submitted and endorsed as enthusiastically as its associate declarations.

Mr. Raymond then came forward, amid another outburst of applause, and read the admirable address which follows. The first paragraph was loudly cheered. Mr. Doolittle then requested the convention not to applaud but listen, to wait until the entire address was concluded. The convention complied until near the close of the address, when Mr. Raymond, throwing a double emphasis into his clear and distinct voice, read the paragraph in the call to the people of the country.

We call upon you, in every congressional district of every State, to secure the election of members who, whatever other differences may characterize their political action, will unite in recognizing the right of every State of the Union to representatives in Congress, and who will admit to seats in either branch every loyal representative from every State in allegiance to the government who may be found by each house, in the exercise of the power conferred upon it by the Constitution, to have been duly elected, returned, and qualified for a seat therein.

Then the excitement burst all restraint. It knew no control. The whole convention rose and the wildest enthusiasm followed.

Even greater was the outburst that followed that glorious sentiment: "No people has ever yet existed whose loyalty and faith such treatment long continued would not impair, and the ten millions of Americans who live in the South would be unworthy citizens of a free country, degenerate sons of a heroic ancestry, and unfit ever to become the guardians of the rights and liberties bequeathed to us by the fathers and founders of this republic, if they would accept with uncomplaining submissiveness the humiliation thus sought to be imposed upon them." The shouts that greeted this were deafening, rolling in unbroken volume from the amphitheatre to the very roof-trees of the building, and the throng outside, without knowing why they should, caught up the enthusiastic rejoicing and prolonged it along Girard avenue a square on either side. Montgomery Blair moved that the clause be read again. The motion was assented to without opposition, and Mr. Raymond again recited the eloquent sentences, and the applause broke forth afresh. When it subsided the address was concluded, and it was voted on by the convention. Its adoption was unanimous; as heartily, enthusiastically, and triumphantly so as the resolutions had been approved.

The address is as follows:

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Having met in convention, at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 16th day of August, 1866, as the representatives of the people of all sections, and all the States and Territories of the Union, to consult upon the condition and the wants of our common country, we address to you this declaration of our principles, and of the political purposes we seek to promote.

Since the meeting of the last national convention, in the year 1860, events have occurred which have changed the character of our internal politics and given the United States a new place among the nations of the earth. Our government has passed through the vicissitudes and the perils of civil war—a war which, though mainly sectional in its character, has nevertheless decided political differences that from the very beginning of the government had threatened the unity of our national existence, and has left its impress deep and ineffaceable upon all the interests, the sentiments, and the destiny of the republic. While it has inflicted upon the whole country severe losses in life and in property, and has imposed burdens which must weigh on its resources for generations to come; it has developed a degree of national courage in the presence of national dangers, a capacity for military organization and achievement, and a devotion on the part of the people to the form of government which they have obtained, and to the principles of liberty which that government was designed to promote, which must confirm the confidence of the nation in the perpetuity of its republican institutions, and command the respect of the civilized world.

Like all great contests which rouse the passions and test the endurance of nations, this war has given new scope to the ambition of political parties, and fresh impulse to plans of innovation and reform. Amidst the chaos of conflicting sentiments inseparable from such an era, while the public heart is keenly alive to all the passions that can sway the public judgment and affect the public action; while the wounds of war are still fresh and bleeding on either side, and fears for the future take unjust proportions from the memories and resentments of the past, it is a difficult but an imperative duty which on your behalf we, who are here assembled, have undertaken to perform.

For the first time after six long years of alienation and of conflict, we have come together from every State and every section of our land, as citizens of a common country, under that flag, the symbol again of a common glory, to consult together how best to cement and perpetuate that Union which is again the object of our common love, and thus secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

In the first place we invoke you to remember, always and everywhere, that the war is ended and the nation is again at peace. The shock of contending arms no longer assails the shuddering heart of the republic. The insurrection against the supreme authority of the nation has been suppressed, and that authority has been again acknowledged, by word and act, in every State and by every citizen within its jurisdiction. We are no longer required or permitted to regard or treat each other as enemies. Not only have the acts of war been discontinued and the weapons of war laid aside, but the state of war no longer exists, and the sentiments, the passions, the relations of war have no longer lawful or rightful place anywhere throughout one broad domain. We are again people of the United States, fellow-citizens of one country, bound by the duties and obligations of a common patriotism, and having neither rights nor interests apart from a common destiny. The duties that devolve upon us now are again the duties of peace, and no longer the duties of war. We have assembled here to take counsel concerning the interests of peace—to decide how we may most wisely and effectually heal the wounds the war has made, and perfect and perpetuate the benefits it has secured, and the blessings which, under a wise and benign Providence, have sprung up in its fiery track. This is the work, not of passion, but of calm and sober judgment; not of resentment for past offenses, prolonged beyond the limits which justice and reason prescribe, but of a liberal statesmanship, which tolerates what it cannot prevent, and builds its plans and its hopes for the future rather upon a community of interest and ambition than upon distrust and the weapons of force.

In the next place, we call upon you to recognize in their full significance, and to accept with all their legitimate consequences, the political results of the war just closed. In two most important particulars the victory achieved by the national government has been final and decisive. First, it has established beyond all further controversy, and by the highest of all human sanctions, the absolute supremacy of the national government, as defined and limited by the Constitution of the United States, and the permanent integrity and indissolubility of the Federal Union as a necessary consequence; and, second, it has put an end finally and forever to the existence of slavery upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States. Both these points became directly involved in the contest, and controversy upon both was ended absolutely and finally by the result.

In the third place, we deem it of the utmost importance that the real character of the war and the victory by which it was closed should be accurately understood. The war was carried on by the government of the United States in maintenance of its own authority and in defense of its own existence, both of which were menaced by the insurrection which it sought to suppress. The suppression of that insurrection accomplished that result. The government of the United States maintained by force of arms the supreme authority over all the territory and over all the States and people within its jurisdiction which the Constitution confers upon it; but it acquired thereby no new power, no enlarged jurisdiction, no rights either of territorial possession or of civil authority, which it did not possess before the rebellion broke out. All the rightful power it can ever possess is that which is conferred upon it, either in express terms or by fair and necessary implication, by the Constitution of the United States. It was that power and that authority which the rebellion sought to overthrow, and the victory of the Federal arms was simply the defeat of that attempt. The government of the United States acted throughout the war on the defensive. It sought only to hold possession of what was already its own. Neither the war, nor the victory by which it was closed, changed in any way the Constitution of the United States. The war was carried on by virtue of its provisions, and under the limitations which they prescribe, and the result of the war did not either enlarge, abridge, or in any way change or affect the powers it confers upon the Federal government, or release that government from the restrictions it has imposed.

The Constitution of the United States is to-day, precisely as it was before the war, the "supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding;" and to-day, also, precisely as before the war, all the powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the general government, not prohibited by it to the States, are "reserved to the several States, or to the people thereof."

This position is vindicated not only by the essential nature of our government, and the language and spirit of the Constitution, but by all the acts and the language of our government, in all its departments, and at all times from the outbreak of the rebellion to its final overthrow. In every message and proclamation of the executive it was explicitly declared that the sole object and purpose of the war was to maintain the authority of the Constitution and to preserve the integrity of the Union; and Congress more than once reiterated this solemn declaration, and added the assurance that, whenever this object should be attained, the war should cease, and all the States should retain their equal rights and dignity unimpaired. It is only since the war was closed that other rights have been asserted on behalf of one department of the general government. It has been proclaimed by Congress that, in addition to the powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, the Federal government may now claim over the States, the territory and the people involved in the insurrection the rights of war, the right of conquest and of confiscation, the right to abrogate all existing governments, institutions and laws, and to subject the territory conquered and its inhabitants to such laws, regulations and deprivations as the legislative departments of the government may see fit to impose. Under this broad and sweeping claim, that clause of the Constitution which provides that "no State shall without its consent be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate of the United States" has been annulled, and ten States have been refused, and are still refused, representation altogether in both branches of the Federal Congress. And the Congress in which only a part of the States and of the people of the Union are represented has asserted the right thus to exclude the rest from representation, and from all share in making their own laws or choosing their own rulers, until they shall comply with such conditions and perform such acts as this Congress thus composed may itself prescribe. That right has not only been asserted, but it has been exercised, and is practically enforced at the present time. Nor does it find any support in the theory that the States thus excluded are in rebellion against the government, and are therefore precluded from sharing its authority. They are not thus in rebellion. They are one and all in an attitude of loyalty towards the government, and of sworn allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. In no one of them is there the slightest indication of resistance to this authority, or the slightest protest against its just and binding obligation. This condition of renewed loyalty has been officially recognized by solemn proclamation of the executive department. The laws of the United States have been extended by Congress over all these States and the people thereof. Federal courts have been reopened, and Federal taxes imposed and levied, and in every respect, except that they are denied representation in Congress and the electoral college, the States once in rebellion are recognized as holding the same position, as owing the same obligations, and subject to the same duties as the other States of our common Union.

It seems to us, in the exercise of the calmest and most candid judgment we can bring to the subject, that such a claim, so enforced, involves as fatal an overthrow of the authority of the Constitution, and as complete a destruction of the government and Union, as that which was sought to be effected by the States and people in armed insurrection against them both. It cannot escape observation that the power thus asserted to exclude certain States from representation is made to rest wholly in the will and discretion of the Congress that asserts it. It is not made to depend upon any specified conditions or circumstances, nor to be subject to any rules or regulations whatever. The right asserted and expressed is absolute, without qualification or restriction, not confined to States in rebellion, nor to States that have rebelled; it is the right of any Congress, in formal possession of legislative authority, to exclude any State or States, and any portion of the people thereof, at any time, from representation in Congress and in the electoral college, at its own discretion, and until they shall perform such acts and comply with such conditions as it may dictate. Obviously, the reasons for such exclusion, being wholly within the discretion of Congress, may change as the Congress itself shall change. One Congress may exclude a State from all share in the government for one reason, and, that reason removed the next Congress may exclude it for another. One State may be excluded on one ground to-day, and another may be excluded on the opposite ground to-morrow. Northern ascendancy may exclude southern States from one Congress; the ascendancy of western or of southern interests, or of both combined, may exclude the northern or the eastern States from the next. Improbable as such usurpations may seem, the establishment of the principle now asserted and acted upon by Congress will render them by no means impossible. The character, indeed the very existence of Congress and the Union is thus made dependent solely and entirely upon the party and sectional exigencies or forbearance of the hour.

We need not stop to show that such an action not only finds no warrant in the Constitution, but is at war with every principle of our government, and with the very existence of free institutions. It is, indeed, the identical practice which has rendered fruitless all attempts hitherto to establish and maintain free governments in Mexico and the States of South America. Party necessities assert themselves as superior to the fundamental law, which is set aside in reckless obedience to their behests. Stability, whether in the exercise of power, in the administration of government, or in the enjoyment of rights, becomes impossible; and the conflicts of party, which, under constitutional governments, are the conditions and means of political progress, are merged in the conflicts of arms to which they directly and inevitably tend.

It was against this peril, so conspicuous and so fatal to all free governments, that our Constitution was intended especially to provide. Not only the stability but the very existence of the government is made by its provisions to depend upon the right and the fact of representation. The Congress, upon which is conferred all the legislative power of the national government, consists of two branches, the Senate and House of Representatives, whose joint concurrence or assent is essential to the validity of any law. Of these the House of Representatives, says the Constitution (article 1, section 2), "shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States." Not only is the right of representation thus recognized as possessed by all the States and by every State without restriction, qualification, or condition of any kind, but the duty of choosing representatives is imposed upon the people of each and every State alike, without distinction, or the authority to make distinctions among them, for any reason or upon any grounds whatever. And in the Senate, so careful is the Constitution to secure to every State this right of representation, it is expressly provided that "no State shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal suffrage" in that body, even by an amendment of the Constitution itself. When, therefore, any State is excluded from such representation, not only is a right of the State denied, but the constitutional integrity of the Senate is impaired, and the validity of the government itself is brought in question. But Congress at the present moment thus excludes from representation, in both branches of Congress, ten States of the Union, denying them all share in the enactment of laws by which they are to be governed, and all participation in the election of the rulers by whom those laws are to be enforced. In other words, a Congress in which only twenty-six States are represented asserts the right to govern, absolutely and in its own discretion, all the thirty-six States which compose the Union—to make their laws and choose their rulers, and to exclude the other ten from all share in their own government until it sees fit to admit them thereto. What is there to distinguish the power thus asserted and exercised from the most absolute and intolerable tyranny?

Nor do these extravagant and unjust claims on the part of Congress to powers and authority never conferred upon the government by the Constitution find any warrant in the arguments or excuses urged on their behalf. It is alleged,

First. That these States, by the act of rebellion and by voluntarily withdrawing their members from Congress, forfeited their right of representation, and that they can only receive it again at the hands of the supreme legislative authority of the government, on its own terms and at its own discretion. If representation in Congress and participation in the government were simply privileges conferred and held by favor, this statement might have the merit of plausibility. But representation is under the Constitution not only expressly recognized as a right, but it is imposed as a duty; and it is essential in both aspects to the existence of the government and to the maintenance of its authority. In free governments fundamental and essential rights cannot be forfeited, except against individuals by due process of law; nor can constitutional duties and obligations be discarded or laid aside. The enjoyment of rights may be for a time suspended by the failure to claim them, and duties may be evaded by the refusal to perform them. The withdrawal of their members from Congress by the States which resisted the general government was among their acts of insurrection—was one of the means and agencies by which they sought to impair its authority and defeat the action of the government; and that act was annulled and rendered void when the insurrection itself was suppressed. Neither the right of representation nor the duty to be represented was in the least impaired by the fact of insurrection; but it may have been that by reason of the insurrection the conditions on which the enjoyment of that right and the performance of that duty for the time depended could not be fulfilled. This was, in fact, the case. An insurgent power, in the exercise of usurped and unlawful authority in the territory under its control, had prohibited that allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States which is made by that fundamental law the essential condition of representation in its government. No man within the insurgent States was allowed to take the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and, as a necessary consequence, no man could lawfully represent those States in the councils of the Union. But this was only an obstacle to the enjoyment of the right and to the discharge of a duty—it did not annul the one nor abrogate the other; and it ceased to exist when the usurpation by which it was created had been overthrown and the States had again resumed their allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Second. But it is asserted, in support of the authority claimed by the Congress now in possession of power, that it flows directly from the laws of war; that it is among the rights which victorious war always confers upon the conquerors, and which the conqueror may exercise or waive in his own discretion. To this we reply that the laws in question relate solely, so far as the rights they confer are concerned, to wars waged between alien and independent nations, and can have no place or force, in this regard, in a war waged by a government to suppress an insurrection of its own people, upon its own soil, against its authority. If we had carried on successful war against any foreign nation, we might thereby have acquired possession and jurisdiction of their soil, with the right to enforce our laws upon their people and to impose upon them such laws and such obligations as we might choose. But we had before the war complete jurisdiction over the soil of the southern States, limited only by our own Constitution. Our laws were the only national laws in force upon it. The government of the United States was the only government through which those States and their people had relations with foreign nations, and its flag was the only flag by which they were recognized or known anywhere on the face of the earth. In all these respects, and in all other respects involving national interests and rights, our possession was perfect and complete. It did not need to be acquired, but only to be maintained; and victorious war against the rebellion could do nothing more than maintain it. It could only vindicate and re-establish the disputed supremacy of the Constitution. It could neither enlarge nor diminish the authority which that Constitution confers upon the government by which it was achieved. Such an enlargement or abridgement of constitutional power can be effected only by amendment of the Constitution itself, and such amendment can be made only in the modes which the Constitution itself prescribes. The claim that the suppression of an insurrection against the government gives additional authority and power to that government, especially that it enlarges the jurisdiction of Congress and gives that body the right to exclude States from representation in the national councils, without which the nation itself can have no authority and no existence, seems to us at variance alike with the principles of the Constitution and with the public safety.

Third. But it is alleged that in certain particulars the Constitution of the United States fails to secure that absolute justice and impartial equality which the principles of our government require; that it was in these respects the result of compromises and concessions to which, however necessary when the Constitution was formed, we are no longer compelled to submit, and that now, having the power through successful war and just warrant for its exercise in the hostile conduct of the insurgent section, the actual government of the United States may impose its own conditions, and make the Constitution conform in all its provisions to its own ideas of equality and the rights of man. Congress at its last session proposed amendments to the Constitution, enlarging in some very important particulars the authority of the general government over that of the several States, and reducing, by direct disfranchisement, the representative power of the States in which slavery formerly existed; and it is claimed that these amendments may be made valid as parts of the original Constitution without the concurrence of the States to be most seriously affected by them, or may be imposed upon those States by three-fourths of the remaining States, as conditions of their readmission to representation in Congress and in the electoral college.

It is the unquestionable right of the people of the United States to make such changes in the Constitution as they, upon due deliberation, may deem expedient. But we insist that they shall be made in the mode which the Constitution itself points out—in conformity with the letter and the spirit of that instrument, and with the principles of self-government and of equal rights which lie at the basis of our republican institutions. We deny the right of Congress to make these changes in the fundamental law without the concurrence of three-fourths of all the States, including especially those to be most seriously affected by them, or to impose them upon States or people, as conditions of representation, or of admission to any of the rights, duties or obligations which belong under the Constitution to all the States alike. And with still greater emphasis do we deny the right of any portion of the States, excluding the rest of the States from any share in their councils, to propose or sanction changes in the Constitution which are to affect permanently their political relations and control or coerce the legitimate action of the several members of the common Union. Such an exercise of power is simply a usurpation; just as unwarrantable when exercised by northern States as it would be if exercised by southern, and not to be fortified or palliated by anything in the past history either of those by whom it is attempted or of those upon whose rights and liberties it is to take effect. It finds no warrant in the Constitution. It is at war with the fundamental principles of our government. If tolerated in one instance, it becomes the precedent for future invasions of liberty and constitutional right dependent solely upon the will of the party in possession of power, and thus leads, by direct sequence, to the most fatal and intolerable of all tyrannies—the tyranny of shifting and irresponsible political factions. It is against this, the most formidable of all the dangers which menace the stability of free government, that the Constitution of the United States was intended most carefully to provide. We demand a strict and steadfast adherence to its provisions. In this, and in this alone, can we find a basis of permanent union and peace.

Fourth. But it is alleged, in justification of the usurpation which we condemn, that the condition of the southern States and people is not such as renders safe their readmission to a share in the government of the country, that they are still disloyal in sentiment and purpose, and that neither the honor, the credit, nor the interests of the nation would be safe if they were readmitted to a share in its councils. We might reply to this,

1. That we have no right, *for such reasons, to deny to* any portion of the States or people rights expressly conferred upon them by the Constitution of the United States.
2. That so long as their acts are those of loyalty, so long as they conform in all their public conduct to the requirements of the Constitution and laws, we have no right to exact from them conformity in their sentiments and opinions to our own.
3. That we have no right to distrust the purpose or the ability of the people of the Union to protect and defend, under all contingencies and by whatever means may be required, its honor and its welfare.

These would, in our judgment, be full and conclusive answers to the plea thus advanced for the exclusion of these States from the Union. But we say further that this plea rests upon a complete misapprehension or an unjust perversion of existing facts.

We do not hesitate to affirm that there is no section of the country where the Constitution and laws of the United States find a more prompt and entire obedience than in those States and among those people who were lately in arms against them, or where there is less purpose or danger of any future attempt to overthrow their authority. It would seem to be both natural and inevitable that, in States and sections so recently swept by the whirlwind of war, where all the ordinary modes and methods of organized industry have been broken up, and the bonds and influences that guarantee social order have been destroyed—where thousands and tens of thousands of turbulent spirits have been suddenly loosed from the discipline of war, and thrown without resources or restraint upon a disorganized and chaotic society, and where the keen sense of defeat is added to the overthrow of ambition and hope, scenes of violence should defy for a time the imperfect discipline of law, and excite anew the fears and forebodings of the patriotic and well disposed. It is unquestionably true that local disturbances of this kind, accompanied by more or less of violence, do still occur. But they are confined entirely to the cities and larger towns of the southern States, where different races and interests are brought most closely in contact, and where passions and resentments are always most easily fed and fanned into outbreak; and even there they are quite as much the fault of untimely and hurtful political agitation as of any hostility on the part of the people to the authority of the national government.

But the concurrent testimony of those best acquainted with the condition of society and the state of public sentiment in the South—including that of its representatives in this convention—establishes the fact that the great mass of the southern people accept, with as full and sincere submission as do the people of the other states, the re-established supremacy of the national authority, and are prepared, in the most loyal spirit, and with a zeal quickened alike by their interest and their pride, to co-operate with other States and sections in whatever may be necessary to defend the rights, maintain the honor, and promote the welfare of our common country. History affords no instance where a people, so powerful in numbers, in resources, and in public spirit, after a war so long in its duration, so destructive in its progress, and so adverse in its issue, have accepted defeat and its consequences with so much of good faith as has marked the conduct of the people lately in insurrection against the United States. Beyond all question this has been largely due to the wise generosity with which their enforced surrender was accepted by the President of the United States and the generals in immediate command of their armies, and to the liberal measures which were afterwards taken to restore order, tranquility and law to the States where all had for the time been overthrown. No steps could have been better calculated to command the respect, win the confidence, revive the patriotism, and secure the permanent and affectionate allegiance of the people of the South to the Constitution and laws of the Union than those which have been so firmly taken and so steadfastly pursued by the President of the United States. And if that confidence and loyalty have been since impaired, if the people of the South are to-day less cordial in their allegiance than they were immediately upon the close of the war, we believe it is due to the changed tone of the legislative department of the general government towards them; to the action by which Congress has endeavored to supplant and defeat the President's wise and beneficent policy of restoration; to their exclusion from all participation in our common government; to the withdrawal from them of rights conferred and guaranteed by the Constitution, and to the evident purpose of Congress, in the exercise of a usurped and unlawful authority, to reduce them from the rank of free and equal members of a republic of States, with rights and dignities unimpaired, to the condition of conquered provinces and a conquered people, in all things subordinate and subject to the will of their conquerors; free only to obey laws in making which they are not allowed to share.

No people has ever yet existed whose loyalty and faith such treatment long continued would not alienate and impair. And the ten millions of Americans who live in the South would be unworthy citizens of a free country, degenerate sons of an heroic ancestry, unfit ever to become guardians of the rights and liberties bequeathed to us by the fathers and founders of this republic, if they could accept, with uncomplaining submissiveness, the humiliations thus sought to be imposed upon them. Resentment of injustice is always and everywhere essential to freedom; and the spirit which prompts the States and people lately in insurrection, but insurgent now no longer, to protest against the imposition of unjust and degrading conditions, makes them all the more worthy to share in the government of a free commonwealth, and gives still firmer assurance of the future power and freedom of the republic. For whatever responsibility the southern people may have incurred in resisting the authority of the national government and in taking up arms for its overthrow, they may be held to answer, as individuals, before the judicial tribunals of the land, and for that conduct, as societies and organized communities, they have already paid the most fearful penalties that can fall on offending States in the losses, the sufferings and humiliations of unsuccessful war. But whatever may be the guilt or the punishment of the conscious authors of the insurrection, candor and common justice demand the concession that the great mass of those who became involved in its responsibility acted upon what they believed to be their duty in defense of what they had been taught to believe their rights, or under a compulsion, physical and moral, which they were powerless to resist. Nor can it be amiss to remember that, terrible as have been the bereavements and the losses of this war, they have fallen exclusively upon neither section and upon neither party—that they have fallen, indeed, with far greater weight upon those with whom the war began; that in the death of relatives and friends, the dispersion of families, the disruption of social systems and social ties, the overthrow of governments, of law, and of order, the destruction of property, and of forms and modes and means of industry, the loss of political, commercial, and moral influence in every shape and form which great calamities can assume, the States and people which engaged in the war against the government of the United States have suffered tenfold more than those who remained in allegiance to its Constitution and laws.

These considerations may not, as they certainly do not, justify the action of the people of the insurgent States; but no just or generous man will refuse to them very considerable weight in determining the line of conduct which the government of the United States should pursue towards them.

They accept, if not with alacrity, certainly without sullen resentment, the defeat and overthrow they have sustained. They acknowledge and acquiesce in the results, to them and the country, which that defeat involves. They no longer claim for any State the right to secede from the Union; they no longer assert for any State an allegiance paramount to that which is due to the general government. They have accepted the destruction of slavery, abolished it by their State constitutions, and concurred with the States and people of the whole Union in prohibiting its existence forever upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of the United States. They indicate and evince their purpose just so fast as may be possible and safe to adapt their domestic laws to the changed condition of their society, and to secure by the law and its tribunals equal and impartial justice to all classes of their inhabitants. They admit the invalidity of all acts of resistance to the national authority, and of all debts incurred in attempting its overthrow. They avow their willingness to share the burdens and discharge all the duties and obligations which rest upon them in common with other States and other sections of the Union; and they renew, through their representatives in this convention, by all their public conduct, in every way and by the most solemn acts by which States and societies can pledge their faith, their engagement to bear true faith and allegiance, through all time to come, to the Constitution of the United States, and to all laws that may be made in pursuance thereof.

Fellow countrymen: We call upon you, in full reliance upon your intelligence and your patriotism, to accept, with generous and ungrudging confidence, this full surrender on the part of those lately in arms against your authority, and to share with them the honor and renown that await those who bring back peace and concord to jarring States. The war just closed, with all its sorrows and disasters, has opened a new career of glory to the nation it has saved. It has swept away the hostilities of sentiment and of interest which were a standing menace to its peace. It has destroyed the institution of slavery, always a cause of sectional agitation and strife, and has opened for our country the way to unity of interest, of principle and of action, through all time to come. It has developed in both sections a military capacity—an aptitude for achievements of war, both by sea and land, before unknown even to ourselves, and destined to exercise hereafter, under united councils, an important influence upon the character and destiny of the continent and the world. And while it has thus revealed, disciplined and compacted our power, it has proved to us beyond controversy or doubt, by the course pursued towards both contending sections by foreign powers, that we must be the guardians of our own independence, and that the principles of republican freedom we represent can find among the nations of the earth no friends or defenders but ourselves.

We call upon you, therefore, by every consideration of your own dignity and safety, and in the name of liberty throughout the world, to complete the work of restoration and peace which the President of the United States has so well begun, and which the policy adopted and the principles asserted by the present Congress alone obstruct. The time is close at hand when members of a new Congress shall perpetuate this policy, and, by excluding loyal States and people from representation in its halls, shall continue the usurpation by which the legislative powers of the government are now exercised, common prudence compels us to anticipate augmented discontent, a sullen withdrawal from the duties and obligations of the Federal government, internal dissensions, and a general collision of sentiments and pretensions which may renew, in a still more fearful shape, the civil war from which we have just emerged. We call upon you to interpose your power to prevent the recurrence of so transcendent a calamity. WE CALL UPON YOU, IN EVERY CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF EVERY STATE, TO SECURE THE ELECTION OF MEMBERS WHO, WHATEVER OTHER DIFFERENCES MAY CHARACTERIZE THEIR POLITICAL ACTION, WILL UNITE IN RECOGNIZING THE RIGHT OF EVERY STATE OF THE UNION TO REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS, AND WHO WILL ADMIT TO SEATS IN EITHER BRANCH EVERY LOYAL REPRESENTATIVE FROM EVERY STATE IN ALLEGIANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT, WHO MAY BE FOUND BY EACH HOUSE, IN THE EXERCISE OF THE POWER CONFERRED UPON IT BY THE CONSTITUTION, TO HAVE BEEN DULY ELECTED, RETURNED AND QUALIFIED FOR A SEAT THEREIN.

When this shall have been done the government will have been restored to its integrity, the Constitution of the United States will have been re-established in its full supremacy, and the American Union will have again become what it was designed to be by those who formed it, a sovereign nation, composed of separate States, each, like itself, moving in a distinct and independent sphere, exercising powers defined and reserved by a common Constitution, and resting upon the assent, the confidence and co-operation of all the States and all the people subject to its authority. Thus reorganized and restored to their constitutional relations, the States and the general government can enter in a fraternal spirit, with a common purpose and a common interest, upon whatever reforms the security of personal rights, the enlargement of popular liberty, and the perfection of our republican institutions may demand.

On motion of Hon. Reverdy Johnson, an official copy of the proceedings was ordered to be prepared for publication.

A despatch from General Dix, regretting his involuntary absence, and congratulating the convention on its harmonious action, was then read amid thunders of applause.

The several committees appointed by the chair were then announced, as follows:

NATIONAL UNION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

John T. Crowell, of New Jersey, chairman.
Maine—James Mann and A. A. Gould.
New Hampshire—Edmund Burke and E. O. Culter.
Vermont—B. B. Smalley and Colonel H. N. Wortham.
Massachusetts—Josiah Dunham and R. O. Spofford.
Rhode Island—Alfred Anthony and James H. Parsons.
Connecticut—James H. Babcock and D. C. Scranton.
New York—Robert H. Pruyn and Samuel H. Tilden.
New Jersey—Joseph T. Crowell and Thomas T. Randall.
Pennsylvania—S. M. Zulich and J. S. Black.
Delaware—J. D. Comegys and Edward S. Martin.
Maryland—Governor Swann and T. J. Pratt.
Virginia—James F. Johnson and Dr. E. C. Robinson.
West Virginia—Daniel Lamb and John J. Jackson.
North Carolina—Thomas S. Ashe and Jos. H. Wilson.
South Carolina—James L. Orr and B. F. Terry.
Georgia—J. W. Christy and Thomas S. Hardeman.
Florida—William Marvine and Wilkinson Call.
Mississippi—N. L. Sharkey and George L. Potter.
Alabama—W. H. Cruckshank and C. C. Huckabee.
Louisiana—Randall Hunt and Alfred Henning.
Arkansas—Lorenzo Gibson and A. W. English.
Texas—B. H. Epperson and John Hancock.
Tennessee—D. T. Patterson and John Campbell.
Kentucky—R. H. Stanton and Hamilton Pope.
Ohio—L. D. Campbell and George B. Smyth.
Indiana—D. D. Gooding and Thomas Dowling.
Illinois—John A. McClernand and Jesse O. Norton.
Michigan—Alfred Russell and Byron G. Stout.
Missouri—Hon. Barton Abell and James S. Rollins.
Minnesota—Hon. H. M. Rice and D. F. Norton.
Wisconsin—J. A. Noonan and S. A. Pease.
Iowa—George A. Parker and William A. Chase.
Kansas—James A. McDowell and W. A. Tipton.
California—Hon. Samuel Purdy and Joseph P. Hoge.
Nevada—John Carmichael and Hon. G. B. Hall.
Oregon—James W. Nesmith and B. W. Bonham.
District of Columbia—Josiah D. Hoover and J. B. Blake.
Dakotah—N. K. Armstrong and N. W. Miner.
Idaho—Wm. H. Wallace and H. Cummins.
Nebraska—Gen. H. H. Heath and Hon. J. S. Morton.

RESIDENT EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AT WASHINGTON.

New Jersey—Charles Knapp, chairman.
Maryland—Hon. Montgomery Blair.
Iowa—Hon. Charles Mason.
District of Columbia—Ward H. Lamon, John F. Coyle, A. E. Perry, Samuel Fowler, Col. James R. O'Beirne, Cornelius Wendell.

COMMITTEE TO WAIT ON THE PRESIDENT.

Reverdy Johnson, chairman.
Maine—W. G. Crosby, Calvan Record.
New Hampshire—John W. Wesley, J. H. Smith.
Vermont—S. Robinson, T. J. Cree.
Massachusetts—Edward Avery, E. C. Bailey.
Rhode Island—Amasa Sprague, Gideon Bradford.
Connecticut—James E. English, Gideon H. Hollister.
New York—Owens W. Smith, Hon. S. E. Church.
New Jersey—Hon. Thomas H. Herring, Gen. Theodore Runyan.
Pennsylvania—J. R. Flanigen, Hon. George W. Cass.
Delaware—S. G. Laws, C. H. B. Day.
Maryland—J. M. Harris, J. D. Jones.
Virginia—Hon. James Barber, George W. Bowling.
West Virginia—Dr. John S. Thompson, of Putnam county, Daniel Saint, of Wheeling.
North Carolina—A. M. Barringer, Hon. George Howard.
South Carolina—J. S. Manning, —— Barrow.
Georgia—S. S. Smith, J. L. Wimberly.
Florida—John Friend, J. C. McKibbin.
Mississippi—Colonel G. M. Hillyer, Hon. H. F. Simball.
Louisiana—Thomas B. May, H. C. King.
Arkansas—John D. Luce, L. C. Boudinot.
Texas—D. G. Burnett, B. H. Epperson.
Tennessee—Hon. C. A. Kyle, Hon. D. B. Thomas.
Alabama—Lewis E. Parsons, John Gale Shorter.
Kentucky—Hon. John W. Stephenson, Hon. A. Harding.
Ohio—Henry B. Payne, Gen. A. McDowell McCook.
Indiana—Gen. Sol Meredith, Judge D. S. Gooding.
Illinois—Hon. George C. Bates, Hon. William R. Morrison.
Michigan—General C. O. Loomis, General George A. Custar.
Wisconsin—A. W. Curtis, B. Ferguson.
Iowa—Colonel Cyrus B. Markley, B. B. Richards.
Kansas—General H. Sleeper, Oslin Thurston.
California—T. A. McDougall, Colonel Jacob P. Lee.
Nevada—Hon. Gideon J. Tucker, John Carmichael.
Oregon—W. H. Farrar, E. M. Barnum.
District of Columbia—Thomas B. Florence, B. T. Swart.
Arizona———, ——.
Dakotah———, ——.
Idaho—Hon. H. W. De Puy, William H. Wallace.
Montana———, ——.
Nebraska—Dr. George L. Waller, L. Lowrie.
New Mexico———, ——.
Utah———, ——.
Colorado———, ——.
Washington Territory—George C. Cole, C. T. Eagan.
Minnesota—D. S. Morton, H. N. Rice.
Missouri—E. A. Lewis, John M. Richardson.

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE.

Charles Knap, president.
Maine—A. W. Johnson, John Burleigh.
New Hampshire—Daniel Marcy, W. W. Blair.
Vermont—R. W. Chase, C. L. Davenport.
Massachusetts—Hon. F. O. Prince, George M. Bentley.
Rhode Island—Amasa Sprague, James Waterhouse.
Connecticut—J. H. Ashmead, Freeman H. Brown.
New York—Abraham Wakeman, Richard Sheell.
New Jersey—John L. McKnight, Francis S. Lathrop.
Pennsylvania—R. S. Martin, W. C. Patterson.
Delaware—Charles Wright, Theodore F. Crawford.
Maryland—Hon. R. Fowler, W. P. Malsby.
Virginia—Hon. Ed. W. Hubbard, George Blow, jr.
West Virginia—Charles T. Beale, Meeron county, Thomas Sweeney, Wheeling.
North Carolina—A. H. Amington, A. McLean.
South Carolina—F. J. Moses, W. P. Schuyler.
Georgia—Lewis Tawlin, William M. Lowry.
Florida—George W. Scott, W. C. Maloney.
Alabama—Lewis Owen, J. S. Kenneay.
Mississippi—Hon. E. Pegres, Col. John A. Bingford.
Louisiana—A. M. Holbrook,
Arkansas—M. L. Bell, O. L. Fellow.
Texas—M. B. Ochiltree, John Hancock.
Tennessee—Wm. D. Ferguson, John Williams.
Kentucky—M. J. Durham, W. W. Baldwin.
Ohio—T. B. Cunningham, John H. Jarves.
Indiana—Hon. Levi Sparks, Moses Drake.
Illinois—Hon. Wm. B. Ogden, Jonas Underhill.
Michigan—Hon. George C. Monroe, William B. McCreery.
Missouri—Thomas L. Price, Charles M. Elliard.
Minnesota—Hon. C. F. Buck, Charles F. Gilman.
Wisconsin—J. B. Doe, C. L. Sholes.
Iowa—M. D. McHenry, S. O. Butler.
Kansas—F. P. Fitzwilliams, G. A. Colton.
California—John H. Baird, Henry F. Williams.
Nevada—Frank Hereford, L. H. Newton.
District of Columbia—Charles Knap, E. Pickerell.
Dakota—J. B. S. Todd, T. C. Dewitt.
Idaho—C. T. Powell, T. W. Betts.
Nebraska—James R. Porter, P. B. Becker.
Washington—Ed. Lander, E. Evans.
Arizona, Oregon, Montana, Utah, and Colorado, no appointments.

The motion for a final adjournment was made by Hon. John Hogan, of Missouri, after which Mr. Robert J. Holmes, of New York, proposed the thanks of the convention to the members of the press for their truthful reports, which was unanimously adopted.

Hon. James G. Rollins, of Missouri, moved that the thanks of the convention be voted to the officers of the same, and also to the citizens of Philadelphia for their kindness to the members of the convention. Unanimously agreed to.

Mr. Alger, of Massachusetts, moved an amendment to Mr. Hogan's motion to the effect that when this convention adjourn they do so with three cheers for the Union and the Constitution of our fathers, and the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson.

Three cheers were given for Senator Cowan, three for Hon. J. R. Doolittle, the President of the convention, and three for the ladies (God bless them!) who had honored the convention with their presence.

The president, after thanking the convention for their kindness and courtesy to himself, then finally introduced the Rev. Mr. Elliot, who pronounced the parting benediction in a few well-chosen and fervent words. A deathlike stillness prevailed during the benediction, when the convention rose to its feet and gave nine hearty cheers, and then quietly dispersed.

So ended a convention memorable forevermore in the history of the world. Only one conclave held on the western continent furnishes its parallel. By a singular coincidence, in the city where, in 1776, the fathers of the government founded the Union, the sons of those heroic sires met to uphold and perpetuate the same. For good or for evil, all men knew, the mighty assembly sitting here would speak. It has spoken, and its voice has been for good. Potential and irresistible, the convention yesterday went forth to its glorious mission to heal strife, to pour the balm of fraternal reunion upon a country between whose sections rankles dissension, and to knit in closer union the wide-spreading portions of the Union of our fathers. In all the vast convention no sound of strife was ever heard. There was not a dissenting voice to the resolutions that were adopted, or the address promulgated to the world. A spirit of unity pervaded the entire deliberations. Every man who entered the doors of the wigwam came imbued with the living spirit of patriotism. They had learned the lesson of union and liberty, and, filled with the teachings of the patriotic leaders of the land, they gathered to solemnly body forth their principles, and invest them with the power and dignity of national truths.

They met in harmony. They deliberated in unison, and upon all their acts rested the impress of the Divine Spirit that had inspired them to their holy work. They closed their labors in the full satisfaction that as faithful husbandmen they had sown the seed of liberty and union to the four winds of heaven. They now go home to perfect the work so propitiously begun. In the same spirit in which it was incepted it will be carried forward until the roll of the October and November elections shall be called and the two oceans that bound this continent shall answer, "deep calling unto deep," for the unbroken union of the States and the undimmed majesty of the Federal government. When the delegations left the convention, yesterday, they left it with a proud feeling of labor done. They read in each other's faces the light and promise of victory. The bond that was knitted between the North and the South, within the walls of the wigwam, will grow into a band that will circle the continent and bind the separated sections in a union human hands can never rend.

The different delegations took leave of each other at the hotels yesterday afternoon. They were all confident of victory. The afternoon trains to the South carried the New York and New England delegates punctually home. In the night trains of the Pennsylvania railroad the western men generally followed. The southern men will go to-day, and such an assemblage probably no human eye will ever see gathered under the Union flag again. Futurity will place it upon the scroll of fame side by side with the no less illustrious but smaller band who founded the government, and gave to the world the Union under which we to-day live.

National Union Executive Committee.

The following resolution has been adopted by the National Union Executive Committee:

PHILADELPHIA, August 16, 1866.—At a meeting of the National Union Executive Committee, held at Philadelphia, August 16, 1866, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the National Union Executive Committee earnestly recommend to the friends of peace, Union, liberty, and law, in each county of the thirty-six States and nine Territories of the American Union, as early as practicable to hold mass meetings for the purpose of ratifying the action of the National Union convention, and also to provide means to place its proceedings in the hands of every citizen of the Republic.

JOSEPH S. CROWELL,
Chairman National Union Executive Committee.

A Sterling Letter.

Among the many outside endorsements of the convention none was read more earnestly than the following letter from Judge Nicholas, of Kentucky:

To the Members of the Philadelphia National Convention: In the exercise of a right belonging to every citizen, and more especially to every one who has been uniformly loyal to the Union and the Constitution, I propose, most respectfully, to invite your attention to a topic that deserves to be of engrossing interest in your deliberations.

The Radicals propose to carry on the coming political campaign upon the issue of amendments of the Constitution and co-operative acts of Congress, for which they seek the national approval towards securing the permanency of their party power.

This would seem to invite from your convention the proposal of a counter project of Constitution amendment, so that the supposed popular desire for some amendment may receive the proper direction, and the issue be so enlarged as to include amendments much more needed than those proposed by them, and much more likely to meet popular favor.

There are two such amendments which invite your attention, not less available as issues in the election campaign than as much-needed, important improvements to the Constitution.

First. The taking from the House of Representatives all participation in an undecided presidential election, and referring it back to the electors for prompt decision between the three candidates on the list.

Second. Prohibiting the admission of new States, except by a two-thirds vote of each house of Congress.

According to rational probability the next presidential election, and most of those thereafter occurring, will devolve upon the House. After the overthrow of the radicals at the ballot-box, all sectional partyism will have received such a rebuff from the nation that the control of national affairs will seldom or never again depend upon the array against each other of two great sectional parties. In the absence of such array it will be next to impossible for any two candidates to engross between them near the whole vote of the nation. The mere personal popularity of any two men is not likely to produce such a result, and in its absence, the devolution of the election on the House is certain.

It appears from Story's Commentaries that many of the makers of the Constitution, with Madison among them, viewed the frequent devolution of the election on the House as a necessary result of the plan for making Presidents. Such, also, is believed to be the prevalent opinion among our most intelligent men of the present day.

If such is to be the result of the plan, then it requires no great intrepidity, or any want of deferential respect for the wisdom of the great men who framed the Constitution to pronounce this part of their work to have been a great blunder. If it be a blunder, it is easy to explain how they came to make it. It is only part and parcel of the mistake they made throughout their great work in not knowing or not appreciating the all-controlling influence of party strife upon our system of government. In their debates on the mode of obtaining Presidents it abundantly appeared that it was proclaimed, nem. con., no pre-existing body "liable to be tampered with" should be trusted with the election. It is inconceivable, therefore, how they came to entrust just such a pre-existing body with the final decision of the election, except from not foreknowing that before the House and before the people the election would always be nothing but a party contest. They did not foreknow that the members voting for the new President would immediately become his partisans, bound by the strong obligation of party fealty to sustain his measures and cloak his usurpations and abuse of power. This is a total perversion of the admirable functions the House was theoretically intended to fulfill as the vigilant, independent sentinels of the people over every department of the government, and leaves the Executive released from any adequate appropriate check. So far, therefore, from the proposed amendment impairing, it would greatly tend to restore and preserve, the true theory of the Constitution.

But such restoration, important as it is, cannot compare in force with other arguments in favor of the change. The mode of voting in the House by States is so grossly unjust toward a large majority of the nation that we cannot hope it will be submitted to, whenever it shall turn out that, by the action of the House, States containing less than a fourth of our population disappoint and override more than three-fourths of the nation.

Without going into other details to show the gross injustice of allowing the contest to be settled by State voting, it will suffice to remember, according to the basis of the census, the nineteen smallest States, who elect a majority of the Senate, and can control a presidential election when before the House, have a population of only a little over five millions, whilst the other seventeen States have a population of over twenty-six millions. The nine smallest States, with an aggregate population of only nine hundred thousand, are allowed nine votes, whilst settling an election in the House, whilst the three largest, with a population of over nine millions, are allowed only three votes.

The rectifying of this flagrant injustice towards so vast a majority of the nation by unconstitutional means presents one of the most imminent and deadly perils to our national career. Should the Philadelphia convention propose and succeed in carrying such an amendment, they will soothe much of the popular jealousy against the similar injustice of allowing equal State suffrage in the Senate, until a national convention can be had, at no very remote day, and an opportunity afforded the nation to revise and readjust the distribution of Federal power upon principles that shall have some approximation to justice.

The propriety of the other proposed amendment scarcely needs elucidation. It is the remedy proposed and insisted upon by New England sixty years ago, when she thought herself suffering under the power to admit new States. The treacherous, flagrant abuse of the power very recently for mere party purposes would amply justify the limiting its exercise to cases where a Territory shall have a population at least equal to the ratio required for a representative. It is greatly to be regretted that the amendment cannot be effected to prevent the purposed iniquity of admitting Nebraska with its less than forty thousand population, and Colorado with its less than fifteen thousand, at the next session of Congress. Some four or more Territories have, for party purposes, been admitted within the last few years, whilst having less than a third of the requisite population. The placing of such a grossly-abused power under some salutary restraint must receive the approval of all considerate, honest men. It will be a salutary mode of expressing national disapprobation of such dishonorable trickery and breach of official trust.

The foolish and corrupt tinkering with the Constitution by the Radicals has brought all amending of the Constitution into apparent popular disfavor. This sort of laudable conservatism may be carried too far. It should not go so far as blindly to reject all needful improvements. If the Radicals can venture to go before the nation upon amendments to accomplish purposes that are tyrannously unjust towards the fifteen former slave States, the Philadelphia convention should not hesitate to commit itself in favor of propositions which go to relieve four-fifths of the nation from the grossest injustice in the distribution of Federal power, and prevent future gross abuse of power. The effort to do this is certain to elicit the warm, active sympathy of the people of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Upon those five States the main results of the next congressional elections essentially depend. It seems to be well understood and generally believed by intelligent Conservatives, that if the Radicals carry the congressional elections by sufficient majorities, they will the next session of Congress admit Nebraska and Colorado, with their four Radical senators, and immediately proceed to impeach President Johnson, turn him out of office, and install in his place that wild fanatic, Senator Wade. If any three of those five large States should prove conservative, they probably will not do this, from apprehension of the effect upon the next presidential election. It would also probably defeat a most important part of their ulterior programme, which is believed to be the rejection of the electoral votes of the eleven States, if that be necessary to the success of their candidate. This they know would certainly produce civil war, if any three of the five; or even if any two of the three largest of those States go against them, and that is a result they well may fear to meet.

The first blush impression of southern delegates will probably be unfavorable to the first of the proposed amendments, but when they take the trouble to reflect that the abolition of slavery has removed the main reason for the zeal in favor of rights in which they were raised they will abandon that proposition. The size of the southern States will prevent any of them from long remaining in the class of smaller States, and will remove all peculiar sectional motive to stickle for State rights as antagonized by the rights of population.

Most respectfully, your fellow-citizen,
S. S. NICHOLAS.
Louisville, August 7, 1866.

THE UNION CONVENTION.

OPINIONS OF LEADING JOURNALS.

The Philadelphia Ledger.

THE WORK OF THE CONVENTION.—The National Union convention, composed of delegates from all the States and Territories of the United States, which has been for three days in session in this city, has concluded its business and adjourned *sine die*. The results of its deliberations are before the people this morning in a "declaration of principles" and an address to the people of the United States. The declaration is much more important than the address, for the former makes publicly known, for the first time since the war, and in an authoritative form, what are the real views, opinions, and principles of the people and the States lately in rebellion. There has been, heretofore, a great deal of misapprehension on this subject and not without cause. The southern States, like all other States under a republican form of government, are possessed of a free press, and in a large number of cases that freedom has been abused since the war by the publication of ill-judged and violent articles, calculated at once to misrepresent the people of the South and mislead the people of the North. Their spasmodic and unauthorized expressions have been considered as the expressions of the masses of the southern people, whereas, as it now turns out, they represented themselves only, and perhaps some small bodies of adherents in the cities and towns of no more influence than themselves, and with no authority to speak for the people at large. In the same way those self appointed organs had their echoes among the politicians and the newspapers of the northern States, who also assumed to be the peculiar spokesmen and champions of the people of the South. And further, the wild and mischievous speeches and publications of both sets in the South and in the North were taken hold of by their political opponents, and especially in Congress, and spread before the whole body of the people as exhibiting the present temper of the southern people, and in this way the misapprehension of which we have spoken became embodied in what is known as public opinion. Now, the meeting of the convention, if it shall accomplish nothing else, should have this one good effect, that it sets all this misapprehension to rights by a clear and authoritative expression of the opinions and views of the southern people, made by men who are in every sense representative men, and who were selected by them for this especial purpose. And as if to exclude all further chance of misconception, they emphasized their declaration by excluding from the convention such men as Wood and Vallandigham, who were among the most active and conspicuous of those who were constantly placing the South in a false position.

This, then, should be regarded as the best result of the convention; that the southern people are at last heard by their own chosen spokesmen, and their own declaration now goes before the country for its judgment. Concerning nine of the ten propositions in the declaration there can be very little difference of opinion among the people who do their own thinking; certainly they afford no ground for excluding those who maintain those propositions from representation in Congress or participation in the government. There is an expression of thankfulness for peace, a declaration that the war has preserved the Union and maintained the supremacy of the Constitution; that representation in Congress is a DUTY imposed on the States, as well as a right granted by the Constitution; that *loyal* representatives should be chosen; that the Constitution and laws in pursuance thereof are the supreme law of the land, and that the powers not granted therein are reserved to the States and the people; that *no State has a right to secede*, and that the Union cannot be dissolved; that amendments to the Constitution should be made according to the forms of the Constitution; that slavery is abolished forever, and that there is neither desire nor purpose to re-establish it; that the rebel debt is utterly invalid, and that the Federal debt is sacred and inviolable; and that it is the duty of the government to make full recompense to the Federal soldiers.

The Philadelphia Age.

THE RESTORATION CONVENTION.—This grand convocation of disinterested and patriotic citizens ended its labors yesterday. Henceforth the movement becomes a part of the history of the nation. It will stand side by side with the most marked and important events in the wonderful career of this republic, and the men who originated the meeting and contributed to its triumphant success will rank with those of '76 and '89. The same spirit of enlarged patriotism, of unselfish nationality, of regard for the rights of the whole people, with which the patriots of the early days of the republic were so plenteously endowed, animated the members of the restoration convention of 1866, and made their deliberations a unit. The good of the whole was the polar star of their action, and by its clear and steady light the proceedings were illumined from the opening sentence to the closing amen.

The platform of principles laid down by this convention is broad, catholic, and national. The hitherto disturbing question of slavery is removed forever from the field of national and State politics, and the doctrine of State rights and national authority so defined and explained as to meet the approbation and assent of every patriot in the nation. The financial honor and credit of the United States are also hedged in by the most solemn and sacred national assurances, and thus the programme made satisfactory to all the great interests of the country, as well moral as material.

The work of the delegates being accomplished, it now remains for the people to endorse and ratify their action in such a manner as to make it effectual in reuniting the States in an indissoluble bond of friendship, faith, and brotherly affection. That will be done. The noble spirit manifested by the representatives from the South, the frank manner in which they met all practical questions, and their ready and willing acquiescence in every suggestion looking to a certain reuniting of the sections, will have its effect upon the people of the nation. They will see in what manner the Union can be restored, and under the prompting of the men who caught their inspiration from the gathering of the patriots which met in this city, will move resolutely in the proper direction. From this time forth the conservative men of the nation are a unit. The action of this convention has consolidated and solidified the Union sentiment of the land, and its march will be magnificent and irresistible.

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The sober, sensible, intelligent men of Philadelphia have seen the great restoration convention of 1866. They have witnessed the first step towards a practical union of the dissevered States. The men of the North and the South have met for the first time in six years as brothers, with the olive branch of peace in their hands, not as foemen, armed and ready for the deadly strife. The representative men of the late revolted States have been here, and the citizens of the North have heard from their lips, in language not to be mistaken or misunderstood, the views of the people of the South upon the important questions now agitating the nation. The conduct of the representatives of the southern States has been of the most commendable character. Like brave men, they have not endeavored to conceal any portion of the past. Like sensible men, they look the present and the future in the face, and accept the situation with all its responsibilities. The questions which entered into the armed contest are declared by them to be settled, never again to be revived. Slavery is gone—the doctrine of secession is abandoned, and all they now ask is that a perfect union be established, under which the States will be equal in constitutional rights, and the people peers before the nation and the world. They ask for peace as a healing agency, in order that the people may begin anew the race for individual happiness and prosperity, and the country resume its onward march to more than Roman greatness and renown.

This is the light in which the restoration convention has presented itself to the men of this city. What say they to its purposes? Are they such as should be accepted? Has there been a word said, or a principle enunciated in that body, or out of it, by the distinguished delegates who have addressed their fellow-citizens, to which a patriot or Union man could object? Have not all the doings and sayings of the convention and its members been eminently patriotic, conservative, wise, and proper? Those of the southern men who have spoken, recommend a full and perfect obedience to the Constitution and laws of the land, and have declared their intention to aid in meeting in good faith the financial obligations of the national government, while the delegates from the North united in pronouncing in favor of the constitutional restoration policy of the President, under which the States will be admitted to their old places in the Union, and the uncertainty and doubt which now casts a cloud over the prospects of the nation, both in a political and business view, be entirely removed.

The Philadelphia Inquirer.

ADJOURNMENT OF THE CONVENTION.—The "National Union" convention has finished its labors, and in the present issue of the Inquirer we place before our readers the results of its labors. They consist in, first, a declaration of principles; second, an address to the people of the United States. We give *verbatim* reports of these two important documents, and are sure that our readers, in common with the people of the entire country, will read them closely, and make their own deductions. Like all the important political papers of our model Republic, they are appeals to the people, and the sovereigns of the country are fully able to judge of their merits.

The closing scenes of the convention were marked by the same harmony that distinguished the inaugural proceedings. There was no discordance among the delegates, nor among the thousands of spectators who crowded the galleries of the wigwam yesterday and Wednesday. The fine weather of the past two days and the interest felt in witnessing the deliberations of a national convention drew together an immense concourse of people. Yet, notwithstanding the vast assemblages, the discordant political elements therein presented, there was not the slightest disturbance. A large police force was very properly detailed for duty in and about the building where the convention met, yet the only task they were called upon to perform was to examine the tickets of the numerous visitors. This fact speaks trumpet-tongued for the respect and love for law and order which pervades the million of people who make up the population of our great city.

We have had among us, in a public capacity, representatives of the States late in armed insurrection against the general government, a power peculiarly loved and revered in Philadelphia. For the first time in six years these men were with us, and near the close of the proceedings yesterday, a delegate from Mississippi rose in his place and offered a resolution tendering the thanks of the convention to the citizens of Philadelphia for their kindness and hospitality to all the delegates.

The managers of this convention are shrewd and far seeing men; and they knew that no city in all the North was more appropriate for holding their deliberations than the city of brotherly love. Those that a week ago cavilled at the selection are now put to the blush. High among the proud historic annals of our time honored city will be written the history of the assembling and deliberations of the first national political convention that met in the United States, after the triumphant close of the war for the maintenance of the Union.

The New York Times.

There is a grief too profound for tears—a joy too intense to find expression in laughter. There are times in politics when feeling is too deep for utterance in words; when movements begotten in comparative silence surpass in significance the noisy demonstrations of a multitude of talkers. The earnestness which is most effective does not expend itself in platitudes, or obtain relief in appeals from a fourth-story window. If ever an occasion of this sort has existed since the formation of the government, it is that which has just been witnessed at Philadelphia. States separated by war for years, and now separated by the unconstitutional proceedings of Congress, met on the basis of equality and peace. Citizens of the same country, whom a cruel fate had long divided, came together again to exchange congratulations, correct misconceptions, and consult in matters relating to their common interests. They met with a consciousness that on both sides there was a necessity for revising judgments, giving and receiving explanations, and ascertaining by personal intercourse the nature and extent of obstacles to a renewal of harmony between the sections. How would oratory have helped the end in view? Of what utility would elaborate speeches have been in these circumstances? What good could possibly have resulted from prolonged debate, or from formal orations of any character?

Had the assemblage been intended to organize a party, to nominate candidates for office, and to frame a platform upon which a new party might be advantageously presented to the people, speeches might have been in order. Buncombe would have enjoyed free course and been glorified. Everybody would have felt bound to deliver himself of a load of words, and a tinseled rhetoric would have been among the requirements of the day. The purpose of the convention, however, lay in another direction. It aimed at consultation, not at claptrap. It sought the groundwork of united action for North and South—not the machinery to elevate any set of politicians to office. It rested its case upon the plain provisions of the Constitution—not the slippery generalities of partisanship. It addressed the intelligence, the judgment, the patriotism of the country—not the prejudices of a class or the passions of a faction. Hence indulgence in oratory might have been mischievous, while it could not possibly have been beneficial. It might have diverted attention from the peculiarities of the meeting, its purpose, and the agencies on which it should rely. And it certainly would have exposed the speakers to temptations and to charges from which the whole gathering has been happily exempt. None can now allege that pretences prevailed, or that oratorical artifice carried the day, or that speakers from either section gave vent to insincere assurances, or that the convention was simply a political meeting, devoid of dignity and representative importance. The reverse may be affirmed with truth. By abstaining from needless talk the delegates vindicated themselves from the imputation of demagoguism, and gave to the movement they inaugurated a character for calm earnestness and thoughtful power which will commend it to the good will of conservative citizens everywhere.

For the convention has taken care that it shall not be misunderstood. Despite its indifference to speeches, it has presented its principles and purposes in a form that may safely challenge controversy. Its ten resolutions and the accompanying address are a more substantial foundation than ten orations multiplied by ten. They touch the right key-note at starting—the desire of a large majority of our countrymen "to forget and forgive the past," to reverence the Union as more sacred than ever, and to heal the wounds which the war has made. They assert the supreme authority of the Constitution and the continued existence of the Union, "with the equal rights, dignity and authority of the States perfect and unimpaired." They declare that representation in Congress is a fundamental right abiding in every State, which neither Congress nor the general government has authority to deny or withhold; and they call upon the people to arrest the usurpation of Congress by electing members favorable to the admission of loyal representatives from every State. They counteract the baneful tendency to centralization by asserting the reserved rights of the States to all powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the general government; among the rights pertaining to the States being "the right to prescribe qualifications for the elective franchise thereon, which right Congress cannot interfere with." The perpetuity of the Union is reaffirmed, and secession pronounced constitutionally impossible. The abolition of slavery is recognized as an accomplished fact, which the South has neither desire nor intention to disturb; and the enfranchised slaves are acknowledged as entitled to receive, in common with others, "equal protection in every right of person and property." The inviolability of the national debt is proclaimed; the claims of the Federal soldiers and sailors are conceded; and a tribute is rendered to the services and the constitutional position of President Johnson.

The New York Herald.

The popular gathering at Philadelphia has concluded its labors and adjourned. The campaign for the restoration of the Union is now fully inaugurated. That it has an auspicious beginning is evident from the panic exhibited by the Radical organs. Their efforts to prejudice the public mind against the convention by the publication of false and malicious reports show that they believe that the movement has taken a deep hold with the people.

Contrary to the predictions of the radical organs, and in spite of their efforts to create disturbance, arouse the jealousies of the delegations, and excite wrangling in the proceedings, no convention ever assembled in this country where harmony, good feeling, and mutual confidence existed to the extent that was manifested at the gathering in Philadelphia. From the hour of the arrival of the delegates down through all its proceedings, including the adoption of the declaration of principles and the address, the most perfect harmony was exhibited. No untoward circumstance arose to mar the occasion. All present seemed to feel the importance of the movement and realize that momentous questions were at stake, involving the peace, the prosperity, and the future greatness of the republic. In this circumstance is to be found evidence of the changed condition of the country by the abolition of slavery. It proves that there is no longer such a thing as the North and the South, but that we have become a homogeneous people. The abolition of slavery has wiped out the distinction between the two sections. It has removed the line which divided the North and the South, and has made us a people of like interests, like aims, and like hopes. This fact the Philadelphia convention forcibly proves.

The fact that all the speeches since the convention has been in session, whether delivered by men from the North or the South, breathe the same spirit and exhibit a full concurrence in sentiment shows the strength of this movement and will give it great weight with the public. The same harmony also existed in the adoption of the address and the declaration of principles, leaving no room for those who oppose it to cavil on that point.

We are unable to find in a careful perusal of the ten specifications of the declaration of principles a sentiment or assertion that cannot be cheerfully subscribed to by every friend of the Union or supporter of the war in the North. It acknowledges the full success of the war, that the emancipated slave should receive equal protection with all other citizens in every right of person and property, declares the debt of the government incurred by the United States in putting down the rebellion to be sacred and inviolable, and fully recognizes the services of our soldiers and sailors. What more can be asked by any party, except they may want the adoption of some scheme that will keep them in office to the injury of the country? The address treats at some length the question of the right of the South to representation in Congress, denounces the efforts of the radical Congress in refusing them this right, and characterizes it as an attempt at revolution and as great an effort to overthrow the government as was the armed rebellion. The danger and the results that may follow by establishing this principle are also shown, and then we are told that the right or the duty of a State to be represented in Congress cannot be impaired by rebellion, nor can the enjoyment of that right be prevented. Both the address and the declaration of principles contain an appeal to the people in every congressional district to see that no members of Congress are elected who are not favorable to the policy of restoration, for if the policy pursued by the present radical Congress is adhered to, civil war will be renewed. In proof of this it is shown that "nowhere are the laws better obeyed than in the States lately in rebellion; that all the disturbances that have occurred are due to the injudicious political movements of the Radicals, and not from hostility to the government." The endorsement of the course of President Johnson and the measures of his Administration is emphatic and without equivocation. The financial legislation and the jobs of Congress are not shown up with the strength and earnestness that they should have been, nor are the dangers to the financial interest of the country which will follow a continuance of their financial policy pointed out with sufficient force and clearness.

The New York World.

The work so smoothly done by the great Union convention satisfies the most sanguine expectations of its friends. That it will powerfully contribute to the complete restoration of the Union may be inferred from the following considerations:

First. It severs the connection between President Johnson and the Republican party. The vast influence of the executive in shaping the policy of the country is attested by the vehement struggles which have always been made by our political parties to secure that great office. To elect a President has always been deemed the greatest victory which can be achieved in our politics. The power of that officer, even if he were the first mechanic or day-laborer that could be picked up in the street, is equal, through the veto, to that of one-third of both houses of Congress. He is also commander-in-chief of the army; he negotiates all treaties; he appoints all officers, and, through his subordinates, he has the collection and disbursement of the immense revenues of the government. In the hands even of the commonest and least sagacious man, this would be a great power; but in the hands of a statesman of sagacity, experience, and of a strong, resolute character like Mr. Johnson, it is gigantic. The success of the Philadelphia convention, which has, in all respects, answered the expectations and satisfies the wishes of President Johnson, separates him effectually from the Republican party, and arrays the whole influence of the executive branch of the government against its policy.

Second. The convention has been the occasion of a public, solemn, formal recantation by the southern people of the doctrine of secession. That this recantation is authorized, and therefore binds the honor of the South, is proved by the unanimous voice of the southern press and the universal participation of the southern people in the choice of delegates. They did not send those delegates to make a tentative platform, but to assent to one whose substance was proclaimed in advance in the call. The perpetuity of the Union and the indestructible equality of the States were the main features of the call, as they are of the declaration of principles which has been unanimously adopted. This public and authorized renunciation of the right of secession, this public, solemn, and authorized acceptance of the Union as an indissoluble bond, is a gratifying demonstration of the complete success of the war. From the nature of the case, the war could not terminate by a treaty of peace; but the frank surrender now made by the South of all that was involved in the contest gives us the same solid assurance that would be given by a treaty of peace at the termination of a foreign war. The right of secession is given up, slavery is abandoned, the Confederate debt is repudiated, the binding obligation of the Federal debt is acknowledged, and this is done, not sullenly, but freely and in the assertion of a claim. This public renunciation by southern people of all the objects for which they undertook the war removes the last vestige of an excuse for excluding them longer from their full Federal rights.

Third. The convention fixes indelibly upon the Radicals the stigma of being the only disunion party left in our politics. The disunion party of the South has gone into history. It is a thing of the past. Just as in the scripture the devils, when they were cast out of certain men, besought and received permission to go into a herd of swine, so the demon of secession, which has been exorcised from the South, has taken refuge in the hearts of the Radicals. In all this broad land, from the pine forests and silver streams of Maine to the rich pastures of Texas, there is no party opposed to the Union except the party which follows the lead of Charles Sumner and Thaddeus Stevens. If the secession party of the South, which arrayed itself against the Union in 1861, deserved fire and sword and desolation, it is for the public judgment to determine what is due to the party which, after having pretended to fight for the Union, resist its restoration. The issue now is precisely what the issue was in 1861, namely, whether the Union shall be restored; but happily the contest, at this stage, is not to be decided by bullets, but by ballots.

Fourth. The convention has contributed essentially to the renewal of kind feelings and cordial relations between northern and southern citizens. During the war there was complete alienation and estrangement between the whole North and the whole South. When each section was using all its resources, and straining all its energies, to inflict the greatest possible mischief on the other, all kindness had died out. Congress, during its long session, did nothing to revive fraternal sentiments, but all in its power to prolong the old alienation and bitterness. The convention has effected an open reconciliation between the two sections. Probably a majority of the people of the North, and certainly the great body of the people of the South, have met, through their delegates, and have made a public renewal of friendship, with mutual attestations of confidence and esteem. The two great sections are no longer at variance; but a party of malignant disunionists assume to rule and dismember the country against the sense of a majority of the citizens. Including the *whole* country, the friends of the Union outnumber its enemies by at least two to one, as the ensuing elections will demonstrate. The question, therefore, is now rapidly assuming the shape, whether the majority shall rule; or, in other words, whether republican government is to be continued in the United States. There can be no doubt whatever that a large majority of our voting citizens are opposed to the disunion policy of the radicals.

The convention has disentangled and simplified the politics of the immediate future. It has constructed a bridge for the President, which enables him to act efficiently and boldly with the friends of his policy, and has united them in a compact, organized, indomitable mass. Doubtful voters can no longer be deceived. Nobody can again be made to believe that he is supporting the President while voting for the candidates of Radicals. Hereafter, every man who is not with the President is against him. It is now a contest in which there can be no neutrality, and in which every man who opposes the President will be branded as a disunionist.

JOHNSON MEETING AT SUNBURY.

The waters are moving throughout the State, a very good indication of which was had at the meeting held in Sunbury on Tuesday last, where the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas President Lincoln did, on the 8th day of December, 1863, put forth a solemn proclamation concerning his plan of reconstruction, in which he said that "whenever, in any of the States in rebellion, a number of persons not less than one-tenth in number of the qualified voters by the election laws of said State, and having taken the oath of allegiance, shall form a State government, republican in form, &c., such shall be recognized as the true government of that State, and be defended and protected by the power of the United States;" and whereas Abraham Lincoln did further, after the rebellion was substantially at an end, and but three days before his assassination, to wit: on the 11th day of April, 1865, reassert and reargue said plan of reconstruction at length, and with great ability and power;

And whereas the Union State convention of Baltimore, in 1864, did endorse said plan of reconstruction, against the protest of Mr. Thad. Stevens, by a vote of 492 against 27;

Therefore, Resolved, 1. That we consider the good faith of the nation, and the good faith of our party, which supported Mr. Lincoln, as solemnly pledged to that plan of reconstruction which looks to the restoration of the Union, with all the "rights, dignity and equality of the several States unimpaired."

2. That we regard the plan of Thaddeus Stevens and others, to hold the eleven States as conquered provinces, as at open war with the doctrines proclaimed by Congress on the 21st of July, 1861; at war with Mr. Lincoln's reconstruction plan of December 8, 1863; and especially hostile and disrespectful to Mr. Lincoln's last great speech of April 11, 1865.

3. That since the southern States have laid down their arms, abolished slavery, adopted the constitutional amendments prohibiting it, done all Mr. Lincoln required them to do, the promises of Mr. Lincoln to restore the Union and defend and protect the States in all their rights, dignity, and equality, should be held sacred and carried out in good faith.

4. That to hold eleven States by force, as England holds Ireland, or as Austria holds Hungary, and as Russia holds Poland, would be to falsify all the promises we made to the world from the beginning to the end of the war; would require vast standing armies, result in a despotic government, and entail untold debt, misery, and bondage on us and our children.

5. That Andrew Johnson is striving to carry out the principles and redeem the pledges of Abraham Lincoln—to protect the people from the dangers and encroachments of a centralized despotism—and that his name will forever stand with those of Washington, Jackson, and Lincoln.

6. That the Hon. Edgar Cowan, our talented and lion-hearted senator, for standing by Andrew Johnson as Benton stood by Jackson, has won for himself immortal honor, and when the stormy whirlwind of fanaticism has gone by all true patriots will hail the names of Johnson and Cowan as they now delight to honor those of Jackson and Benton.

7. That we hereby concur in and ratify the election of Dr. R. McCoy, of Northumberland, and P. M. Hackenburg, esq., of Snyder, as the Union Republican delegates to the 14th of August convention for the Fourteenth congressional district.

A NEW RAILROAD.—The building of the Iowa and Minnesota railroad has been commenced. Ground was broken, and a celebration took place on Tuesday at Polk City, Minnesota.

LETTER FROM HON. THOMAS EWING, OF OHIO.

LANCASTER, Ohio, August 2, 1866.

Hon O. H. Browning:

Dear Sir—Your letter, enclosing a copy of a call for a national convention to be held at Philadelphia on that 14th instant, has long been before me. I at once expressed to you my hearty concurrence in its objects, but causes not within my control have thus far delayed me in giving, as I then promised, more definitely and at large my views on the subject.

We all feel and know that the condition of the country is unsettled; it is, in some respects, anomalous; the different departments of the government do not move harmoniously in their proper sphere, but, in some respects, retard and disturb the action of each other. The evil requires a remedy, which can only be applied on a careful investigation of its causes.

It is most important that we have a distinct understanding of the present condition of our country, the state of its organic law, as settled by recent events, and a consideration of the errors and irregularities by which its action is disturbed. A fair presentation of these matters to the public, without a mixture of the passion or prejudice of party, that they may apply the corrective, is, as I understand it, the object of the proposed convention.

To this object I was desirous to lend my feeble aid, as one among the thousands whose aggregate judgment make up public opinion.

A large proportion of the leading men of the South have for more than thirty years past been taught in the school of disunion, reared up and educated in the political faith that allegiance to the State is paramount to allegiance to the Union, and that a citizen of a State may, at the command of his State, lawfully bear arms and wage war against the United States, and, as a corollary, against any one or more of the sister States.

This is not new doctrine; it is the same which, under different forms of government, distracted Europe for more than six hundred years, made every barony a castle—generally a robber's stronghold—and the whole country a military encampment.

Those holding the physical force in eleven States, in 1861, declared in convention their secession from the Union, expelled its officers and repudiated its laws, and stood prepared to maintain, as far as they might, by force of arms, distinct and independent nationalities, confederated for the purpose of attack or defense against the Union as a common enemy. On the other hand, we asserted the absolute integrity of the Union; that no State could secede from or cease to be an integral part of the Union; that its laws, constitutionally enacted, were of binding force in all the States and Territories, and that to levy war or oppose armed resistance to the execution of the laws of the Union was treason, even though such resistance were in obedience to a law of a State and to the mandate of its authority.

And it is this on which the issue was taken between the Union and those who held the physical power in the eleven seceding States. A civil war was the consequence, great in its magnitude, great in its results. The supremacy of the Union has been maintained; the illegal and revolutionary declarations of secession have been annulled, together with the ordinances in their support and their maintenance; and the several States, so far as their official acts can effect that object, have resumed each its place as members of the Union and acknowledged the supremacy of its laws.

We have contended throughout the contest that the seceded States were States of the Union, and that the citizens of those States who in any way aided in the revolt were guilty of treason. This point is now yielded; it is settled and not open to discussion.

Your call only invites those who hold "the Union in every case indissoluble and perpetual;" and it declares, "that no delegate will take a seat in the convention who does not loyally accept the national situation, and cordially endorse the great principle above announced."

This I most heartily approve. I would not willingly meet in counsel or join political action with those, if such there be, who would again open that question, the agitation of which has inflicted such untold misery upon the country.

I assume, therefore, that the laws of the Union enacted pursuant to the Constitution are paramount, neither weakened nor affected by the laws of the State; that no State can secede from the Union, either temporarily or permanently; that the ordinances of secession, though bearing the name of the State, were the acts of unauthorized men, who temporarily usurped the power; that during the whole contest, from its beginning to its close, each and all the States, notwithstanding their ordinances of secession, were States of the Union and in the Union, and at the close of the contest the usurped power was withdrawn and the supremacy of the Union acknowledged by the authorities of the States.

It follows, as a necessary consequence, that even in the heat and violence of the rebellion, the States in which rebel violence most prevailed were, each and all of them, as States, entitled to their representation in the two houses of Congress.

Such was clearly the understanding of the statesmen who then ruled the stormy scene. Tennessee was represented after the ordinance of secession in that State was passed, and I know it was the expressed wish of President Lincoln that Mr. Sebastian, the senator from Arkansas, whose term was not expired, and who had taken no part in the rebellion, should come to Washington and resume his seat in the Senate.

The difficulty existed, not in the right of the State to be represented, but in the means of electing and certifying senators and representatives.

With that difficulty the houses of Congress had in the first instance nothing to do, but when the State returned its senators and members, then it was the province of the two houses of Congress each to examine the credentials of the proposed members of its own body—ascertain whether they were duly appointed, and whether personally they conformed to the requisites which each house had established for its members.

It cannot, therefore, be rationally contended that a State in which the rebellion has been suppressed, the ordinance of secession rescinded and annulled, and the power of the Union acknowledged, can be denied its representation in the two houses of Congress, because it has been controlled by men in a state of revolt, when that very condition, while it existed, did not deprive it of its right of representation. But thus far those States have been denied, as States, their representation in the two houses of Congress, without question as to the qualifications of the individual members, or the regularity of their election. It will be difficult to establish the position that a portion of the Senate and the House which has thus rejected the representation of part of the States, as States, is a legally constituted Congress under the Constitution. They of course have the power which the Constitution gives them—the Senate to reject any and all such members individually for the reason that they do not represent their several States; the House because they are not shown to represent their appropriate district. The Constitution defines, in express terms, the powers of each house over the members who offer themselves for recognition.

The second section of the first article of the Constitution provides that "the House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States;" that is to say, of each and all of the States. To this there is no exception and no limitation. It includes States which have been in revolt, as well as those which have been always loyal.

Another clause in the same article provides that when vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue an order for an election. Here is no qualification, no requisite condition of the State to entitle it to its representation.

How does any portion of the two houses of Congress, or a committee selected by a part of the members, acquire the power to lay down conditions and deny representation to States that do not conform to them?

The third section provides that the Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislatures thereof for six years.

The fifth article provides that "no State without its consent shall," even by an amendment to the Constitution, "be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate."

So clear is the construction of the Constitution, so fixed the purpose of the convention, that even an amendment of the Constitution would be void that should attempt to deprive a State for a single day, under any conditions, of its due representation in that body.

But the Constitution makes ample provision for the prevention of illegal intrusion in either of those bodies, and puts it in the power of each to exclude from itself all members and senators who are unfit from any cause, national or moral, for want of due election, due certificate, defect of loyalty to the Union, or moral character, to hold their places in either of those bodies.

Hence it is very clear to my mind that the exclusion of States as States, for any reason, supposed or alleged, is the indirect violation of their constitutional privileges. The members who may be in possession of the Senate chamber and House of Representatives have the same right to assume that New York as that Georgia is unfit to be represented until it complies with their prescribed requisitions; and if they may exclude eleven States, they may exclude twenty, and each will affect alike the constitutional legitimacy of the body which thus lays down conditions for admission, and refuses it to those who do not comply with those conditions.

The wrong would be the more glaring if a majority were excluded, but the principle would be the same.

It may be said that in the Senate there could not be a constitutional quorum if twenty States were excluded. But what of that? Admit the binding efficacy of the Constitution, and there is an end of the argument.

With a view to the present and future quiet of the country, I am anxious that the present state of things should cease to exist.

Laws formally enacted by the members, and certified and approved by the officers of the two houses and the President, must be recognized by our courts without inquiring into the regular constitution of each of the powers enacting them; but whatever comes in the form of law, emanating from a single branch of the law-making power, is, in my judgment, open to examination; as for example, if but one-third of the estates should meet and take possession of the halls of the Senate and House of Representatives, enact resolves in the form of law, without executive sanction or recognition, it would be absurd to say that the courts would be bound to hold that such resolves were law, without having power to inquire into the constitutionality of the assembly enacting them. This is but an a fortiori case; the principle is precisely the same with that before us; it is quite immaterial whether one-third or two-thirds of the States be excluded from participation in the enactment. Admit the right of inquiry into the constitution of the enacting body: the same right follows in the other, and the illegitimacy in the one case is as clear as in the other. This difficulty applies to the civil-rights bill, to the last Freedmen's-bureau bill, and to the constitutional amendment.

This objection, together with the constitutional difficulties in the several bills, can be brought before the courts, and it is not too much to say that their decision will be doubtful on that point, if on that alone. On such reflection as I can give it, I think those enactments would be each and all of them held void.

This, of course, does not apply to cases where the States did not appear at the proper time and place and offer their senators and representatives. It would have a quieting effect, and be but a reasonable sacrifice to the Constitution and law, to repeal at the earliest possible moment all such enactments of the last session of Congress which have not received the sanction of the President; for whatever the decision of the courts may be on the subject, it is quite clear that the opinion of the bench and bar of the United States, out of political circles and beyond political influence, will not be unanimous in favor of the validity of those laws; they will not be absolutely and entirely respected by the mass of the people, as they would have been if enacted by a Congress in which all of the United States were supposed to be represented.

There are reasons urged for the refusing the admission of the eleven rejected States into the legislative councils of the nation. Stripped of all ambiguity, the result is the same. Exclusion is necessary in order to retain power in the hands of the present majority, and I think it is not generally claimed to be strictly constitutional, but right and reasonable in the present anomalous case.

But allow this as a precedent and specially excepted, and anomalous cases will continually arise in the opinion of the party in power. The present Congress, in establishing the precedent, cannot say, authoritatively, thus far and no further.

The Constitution allows no exceptions, it provides for no anomaly. If violated but for a day, it is violated. This I look upon as the great source of evil, pregnant with political mischief. It is a sap applied to the very foundation of our national edifice, and if pressed forward to its results must shake, if not destroy it.

It is needless and idle to dwell upon the past, that which belongs to history; but it is not, perhaps, improper for me to say that I have not, in all things, concurred in the action of the past or the present executive.

In the direct political movement necessary to preserve the integrity of the Union and enforce its laws—in the conduct of the war—I felt no hesitation, no difficulty; and I felt, too, the necessity as a war measure to remove from those the power of mischief who actively and openly attempted to obstruct the raising of our armies or to induce desertion from the same.

Their crime approached treason, but did not fall within its definition. The position of those in its commission was ambiguous, occupying middle space between traitor and spy, but whatever the judgments of courts might be upon their acts, the performance of a duty which the President owed the Constitution required that they should be deprived of the power of mischief.

It was necessary to protect our armies in the process of formation against hostile obstructions, as well as to protect them against meeting and opposing armies in the field. Military commissions are warrantable only in cases in which the commanding general is justified in ordinary execution on his own mandate without trial; then he may properly organize a commission to advise and share with him the responsibility; but I have never been satisfied with trials and convictions by military courts, where our civil courts held undisturbed sessions, and our civil laws could be executed. Such things have, nevertheless, been done, and I have not failed to protest against it in the proper quarter, and use all my powers and reason and argument to prevent it. The prevention of mischief is one thing; the trial and punishment of a crime completed is another.

For this the administration of President Johnson is not entirely free from responsibility; but, as far as I know, it was only when he was fresh in his office, near to the surrounding circumstances which influenced the action of his predecessor and of his counsellors, that he fell into what I considered a vital error; and he early showed a purpose to apply to the mischief, whenever possible, an efficient remedy.

Thus, in the only instance in which he greatly erred, it was by uniting in the policy of those who now most condemn him; it was by suffering himself to be borne onward by the wild tide of events which threatened to sweep away and obliterate the ancient land-marks of our Republic; and it was only when he attempted to check the mischief that he encountered fierce resistance, contumely, and reproach.

Besides the illegal constitution of the two houses of Congress, by the exclusion of the eleven States, there was a vice, a novelty, in the proceedings of those two assemblies by the appointment of a joint committee on all the important questions of reconstruction, and the admission of members to each body—a committee similar to that of public safety in the constituent assembly of France in the days of the revolution, and almost equally potent.

The two houses, by the appointment of this committee and the powers granted it, consolidated, and there were no longer for the more important purposes of the session two houses of Congress—two different assemblies. Indeed, there could be no deliberation in either of those bodies. They were fettered and bound by the action of the joint committee, and no member could be permitted to introduce a measure without it first passing through this ordeal; and it was as much as the political standing of any senator or representative was worth to dispute its behests. In a few instances it was attempted, but on each occasion followed by an explanation and an apology.

Men are drifted by the strong current of events where their own deliberate judgment would not carry them. In the composition of most, even men possessing intelligence and some force of character, there is more of the ozier than of the oak; hence it is that in times of high political excitement the more reckless and violent govern in political assemblies sober minded men, their superiors in knowledge and intellect. Hence measures were adopted almost unanimously which would not have passed the two houses by the free votes of the members without this restraint. Its efficacy must have been understood, and its necessity foreseen, or this strange anomaly in American legislation would not have been resorted to.

By the report of the Committee on Reconstruction, it appears to have been their opinion that what is generally understood as an executive duty—the right of determining when the insurrection or rebellion in a State has ceased, and it is in a condition for self-government—pertains to the two houses of Congress and not to the President.

They say it was his duty to execute the laws of Congress, and they ignore and, in effect, deny his right to do his duty under the Constitution, except as they may direct or impel him; this is their first radical error, and the close of the report shows how unfit a legislative body is for the performance of executive duty.

It was well shown in the long Parliament of England, when they undertook to exercise executive powers; it is equally well shown here.

Not only could not Congress agree as to what should be done to effect reconstruction—when it should begin and how far it should advance—without the aid of a committee of reconstruction, but that committee so selected say that the result of their report was a mutual concession after a long and careful comparison of conflicting opinions.

It would seem their inability to agree might have well admitted of some deference and respect for the opinions of the President, who, with more knowledge, certainly an equally patriotic spirit, much larger information, and longer deliberation, differed from some, and, perhaps, all of them; and if he were mistaken, and members were returned to Congress from States not organized, so as to be competent to retain them, each house had the power to determine the question for itself in the case of each individual member, and, on full information, to reject or admit.

There seems to be no agreement on the points in which it is charged that the President erred, and every act, and each conceivable omission to act, is objected to by different individuals. The only particular in which they unite is that he did not in all things conform to the will of Congress. He had opinions of his own, and expressed them in time and form as prescribed by the Constitution. But other grave objections were urged. Senator Trumbull, in a speech lately delivered to his constituents, claims that the President did not punish traitors sufficiently; in other words, that there had not been blood enough shed, or that there had not been ruin and misery, poverty and privations enough brought upon the people of the South to teach them that rebellion was unprofitable. Mr. Trumbull, had his views been carried out in detail, would have taught them well that submission was even less profitable than rebellion.

And I would ask, under what law, after the war had ceased, could the President hang or shoot or imprison those who had been traitors?

The matter must have been submitted to our courts of justice, and no time had elapsed sufficient to organize and officer courts and bring to trial a hundred thousand criminals for treason.

Mr. Trumbull claims that the President, in a conversation with him (and I take him as a specimen of the violent men of his party), seemed to yield to the opinion, or expressed the opinion, that the laws should be rigidly executed against those who violated them.

When he conversed with Mr. Trumbull, according to the account we have of the conversation, he seemed to be smarting under the infliction of heavy recent wrongs, and he spoke with feelings of indignation and resentment common to men and justifiable in their private station; but when he became President of the United States those feelings ought to have been, and I trust they were, suppressed and his personal wrongs forgotten.

His office was then the restorer of the public peace and order, not the avenger of private wrongs, or the instrument by which private vengeance was to be gratified; and it became a question, what was the best mode of reconciling all men to their conditions and establishing peace and harmony in the country.

That popular passions and prejudice still exist in the South is undoubted. The opinions of men as to their abstract rights are unchanged; for no man or men were ever reasoned into a change of opinion by the cannon or the bayonet, though they may well be taught that it is better to live at peace, and enjoy freedom and safety of life and property under a regular constitutional government, than to suffer a repetition of the horrors and desolation of a civil war.

It is the remark of a writer who lived through the French revolution, who reasoned sagely, and who observed much, that "the remedy for popular passions is to be found, not in despotism or arbitrary infliction, but in the assured sovereignty of the law." I concur in this opinion, and for these reasons; I do not unite in the censure which Senator Trumbull casts upon the President because we discover humane feeling in his official action for the miseries of those who had most wronged him, especially as I am conscious that his kindness and forbearance tended much more than severity to the establishment of union and harmony.

I am not the apologist of the President. It is simply my aim to do him and all others right and justice according to my own conceptions.

In these I may greatly err, but my opinions are founded on the observation of passing events, and with a view only to the interests of my country.

It is idle to impugn the motives and apply personal abuse to those who differ with us in political opinion, to call names, to use contemptuous epithets, and thus depreciate personally those whose arguments we found to be unanswerable.

There is much of this that is neither creditable nor statesmanlike in the speech of Mr. Trumbull, which is now before me, but I will not comment upon it.

My wish is that the Republican party, very many of whose members I highly respect, may return to the path of constitutional rectitude, and, walking in that path, I wish them a long and successful administration of their appropriate sphere in the affairs of government; but if they and the Constitution and the Union cannot exist together, I can earnestly desire their speedy and final overthrow.

Practically, my opinion is that a humane forbearance in the execution of penal laws, which shall make it the interest of men to prefer the Union and law and order to anarchy, is the only sound policy.

Some will undoubtedly become outlaws, but as few as possible should be driven to that condition; and the few that, having been allowed the privileges of citizens and the rights of property, choose to form themselves into predatory bands, whether they plunder upon the land or water, should be exterminated as enemies of the human race.

I hope much from the good effect of your convention. I am sure that it will be conducted in a spirit of kindness and conciliation, at the same time with firmness and decision. I trust much in its effect upon public opinion, much, indeed, in its effect on the opinions and actions of the present Congress. I hope at the next session of this Congress to find a state of feeling such that no considerable change may be necessary to secure a triumph of constitutional law and the union, peace and prosperity of each and every part of our common country.

I am, very respectfully, yours,
THOMAS EWING.

Our Navy on a Peace Footing.

The official Register of the Officers of the United States Navy, corrected up to the 1st of August, is just issued from the government printing office at Washington. It shows that the regular officers of the navy, on the active, retired and reserved lists, number a little over two thousand, as follows:

Admiral	1
Vice Admiral	1
Rear Admirals—active list	10
" —retired list	17
Commodores—active list	25
" —retired list	21
Captains—active list	50
" —retired list	14
" —reserved list	7
Commanders—active list	90
" —retired list	28
" —reserved list	11
Lieutenant Commanders—active list	174
" —retired list	4
Lieutenants—active list	4
" —retired list	9
" —reserved list	10
Masters—active list	41
" —reserved list	7
Midshipmen—graduates	156
" —on probation (four classes)	308
Surgeons—active list	79
" —retired list	20
Passed Assistant Surgeons—active list	38
" —retired list	3
Assistant Surgeons—active list	38
" —retired list	2
Paymasters, all ranks	110
Chaplains, all ranks	28
Professors of mathematics	13
Naval constructors	12
Naval storekeepers	6
Engineers, all ranks	351
Boatswains	53
Gunners	66
Carpenters	46
Sailmakers	35
Marine corps, officers	101
Total	2043

A large number of volunteer officers, not included in this list, remain in the service, assigned to various commands on shipboard or in navy-yards, or awaiting orders.

A TERRIBLE EXPLOSION.—The Italian journals report a frightful catastrophe at Piacenza. A small powder-mill blew up, and communicated the fire to a factory of cartridges, which likewise exploded. About sixty young women, some soldiers, and several civil laborers who were employed on the premises, were all buried in the burning ruins. The exact number of the dead and wounded is not known.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

Its Operations in Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

Report of Generals Steedman and Fullerton.

The Bureau Unequivocally Condemned.

"It has been Productive of more Harm than Good."

"The System of Contracts is simply Slavery in a New Form," and is a "Practical Defeat of the Proclamation of President Lincoln."

WASHINGTON, August 9, 1866.

The following very important report from Generals Steedman and Fullerton has been made public to-day:

NEW ORLEANS, LA., July 20, 1866.

Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

SIR—We have the honor to submit the following report of our inspection of the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau in the Departments of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. Taking up seriatim the points to which special attention is called in our order of instructions, we found, first, that the number of officers and civilians employed by or attached to the bureau in the departments above named was as follows:

Georgia.

One brigadier general (brevet major general), assistant commissioner for the State.

One major (surgeon), two captains, one second lieutenant—on staff duty.

One surgeon, one assistant surgeon—having charge of hospitals.

One major, ten captains, seven lieutenants—sub-assistant commissioners.

Civilian Employees.

One superintendent schools, at monthly pay of	$150 00
Nine contract surgeons, each	100 00
One special agent	125 00
One agent for St. Simon's Island	100 00
One chief clerk	125 00
Four clerks, each	100 00
Two clerks, average	79 16
Seventy-seven persons employed as nurses, laundresses, ambulance-drivers, and hospital-stewards, at average pay per month, each	12 00

In addition to the foregoing there are one hundred and seventy-seven agents of the bureau, citizens of Georgia, who were appointed by the Assistant Commissioner of the Bureau, in accordance with a resolution of the Georgia State convention, passed October 30, 1865, providing for such appointments. These agents are not paid from the bureau funds, but by fees allowed them for approving contracts, and for other official duties.

Alabama.

One major general—assistant commissioner for the State.

Three majors, one captain, five lieutenants—on staff duty.

One lieutenant colonel, six captains, two lieutenants—sub-assistant commissioners.

Civilians.

Eleven contract surgeons, each at monthly pay of	$100 00
One sup't of education	150 00
Three civilian agents	150 00
One	100 00
Fourteen clerks	100 00
One clerk	80 00
One clerk	75 00
One hospital steward	50 00
Three	30 00
Thirty-six hosp'l nurses, average each, per month	7 83

Mississippi.

One major general, assistant commissioner for the State.

One colonel, two majors, two captains, two lieutenants—on staff duty.

The assistant commissioner and the staff, in connection with their duty as Bureau officers, are performing military duty.

On Bureau duty only—eleven captains, ten lieutenants, sub-assistant commissioners.

Civilians.

One superintendent education, at monthly pay of	$150 00
Five clerks, each	120 00
One printer	100 00
One superintendent of buildings	125 00
Five contract surgeons, each	100 00
Four hospital stewards, each	68 85
Twenty-six hospital attendants, &c., each at average	11 03
Four carpenters, each at average	52 50
Three teamsters, each	15 00
Four orderlies, each	15 75
Twelve laborers, each at average	19 58
Two night watchmen, each	15 00

Louisiana.

One brigadier general, assistant commissioner for the State.

One major (surgeon), six captains, two lieutenants—on staff duty.

One lieutenant colonel, one major, fourteen captains, sixteen first lieutenants, six second lieutenants, sub-assistant commissioners.

One chaplain, one lieutenant, on temporary duty.

Civilians.

Seven contract surgeons, each at monthly pay of	$100 00
Five clerks	125 00
Two clerks	112 00
Five clerks	110 00
Eight clerks (average)	76 80
Seven clerks	65 00
One sup't plantation dep't	150 00
Two school directors	125 00
One wagonmaster	75 00
Six artificers	55 50
Twenty teamsters, laborers, messengers, and porters, at average pay each per month	22 35
Thirty-two nurses, cooks, and in hospital, at average pay each per month	9 78

Texas.

One brigadier general, assistant commissioner for the State.

One lieutenant colonel, two majors, one captain, one lieutenant—staff duty.

Two colonels, one major, ten captains, four first lieutenants, three second lieutenants, sub-assistant commissioners.

Civilians.

One contract surgeon, at pay per month	$100 00
One sup't of schools	208 33
Two clerks, each	125 00
Three clerks, each	75 00
One printer	125 00

The number of persons to whom rations have been issued in each of the above-mentioned States since the 1st of December, 1865, and up to the 1st of April last, was as follows:

Georgia.

Freedmen.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	964	543	1507
January,	1043	562	1605
February,	1159	511	1670
March,	1364	555	1919

White Refugees.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	201	171	372
January,	12	—	12
February,	20	3	18
March,	38	74	112

Alabama.

Freedmen.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	1324	915	2249
January,	1157	1269	2426
February,	2217	1876	4093
March,	2733	2789	5518

White Refugees.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	1140	2149	3389
January,	1983	3272	5255
February,	4680	8403	13,083
March,	5651	11,464	17,115

Mississippi.

Freedmen.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	286	284	570
January,	406	290	696
February,	524	403	927
March,	315	250	565

White Refugees.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	20	—	20
January,	18	25	43
February,	22	43	65
March,	22	96	118

Louisiana.

Freedmen.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	714	307	1021
January,	845	347	1192
February,	822	336	1158
March,	1020	368	1388

White Refugees.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	29	22	51
January,	9	15	24
February,	7	13	20
March,	5	5	10

Texas.

Freedmen.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	29	3	32
January,	57	10	67
February,	77	15	92
March,	31	14	45

White Refugees.

	Adults.	Children.	Total.
December,	11	4	15
January,	4	0	4
February,	3	4	7
March,	0	0	0

NECESSITY FOR RELIEF.

The necessity for the relief furnished will not extend beyond the present season except in northern Georgia and Alabama, where probably a limited amount of assistance may be requisite for some time longer, unless these States are able to make provision for their own poor. Much, however, depends in all of the States herein mentioned upon the success of this year's provision crop.

DISPOSITION OF THE CITIZENS.

But little or no encouragement has been given to the operations of the bureau by the citizens of any of these States, except Alabama and Georgia, in which the assistant commissioners, Generals Tillson and Swayne, have removed much of the prejudice against the bureau by wisely securing the co-operation of the civil authorities.

RETRENCHMENT AND REFORM.

A great reduction in the expenses of the Bureau, and a reform which would render it far less objectionable than it is now, would be effected by the discontinuance of all paid employes not in the military service of the government. This would reduce the expenses for clerks, contract surgeons, hospital stewards, &c., the following amounts:

Georgia,	$34,684 per annum.
Alabama,	38,312 " "
Mississippi,	30,276 " "
Louisiana,	55,984 " "
Texas,	10,896 " "
Total,	165,052

All the labor performed by these employes, except perhaps the occasional services of a contract surgeon, might be discharged by details from the troops. In previous reports we have recommended the merging of the duties of the bureau and the military. We would again respectfully urge this amalgamation, and that one set of officers should be required to perform the joint duties, thus avoiding the expense of maintaining two establishments.

EFFECT OF THE BUREAU UPON THE HABITS OF THE FREEDMEN.

We have previously stated our opinion as to the effect of the operation of the bureau on the habits of the freedmen and their disposition to labor and support themselves, and we have seen nothing in our subsequent investigations to induce us to change the views expressed on the subject in past reports. It is so apparent that a people compelled to labor for a livelihood must be industrious by the hope or implied promise of support in idleness, and we deem it unnecessary to present further argument on this point.

We proceed now to speak more in detail of the administration of the bureau in the several States we have visited.

Georgia.

The Bureau in Georgia, under the management of the present able and efficient assistant commissioner, Brevet Major General Tillson, has been honestly administered, and has accomplished all the good of which the system is capable. It has been assisted by the Governor, by the judges of the Supreme Court, by the civil authorities, and to some extent by the citizens. The amended laws of Georgia are fully as liberal as those of any northern State, and place the negro in all respects on a perfect equality with the white man as to his civil rights. Notwithstanding this fact, we have found that agents of the Bureau have taken cases out of the hands of the civil authorities, and have tried and disposed of them in a manner never contemplated by the laws of the State. For instance, the citizen judge of the Freedmen's Court at Savannah sentenced two negroes to thirty days' labor on the chain-gang, on the charge of horse-stealing, to which they pleaded guilty. A white man committing the same offense would have been liable, under the State laws, to be sentenced to the penitentiary, or even to death, at the discretion of the jury. In cases previously disposed of in this same court, one freedman, for assaulting with a knife with intent to kill, was fined twenty dollars, and another freedman, for a similar offense, was sent to prison for five months, when, by the laws of Georgia, the punishment prescribed for the crime is imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than two nor more than ten years. Decisions such as these must of necessity create among the white people a feeling of contempt for the freedmen's courts, and of ill-will towards the United States government, which permits such an unjust interference with the laws of the State. In the freedmen's court at Macon, presided over by Captain Louis J. Lambert, more serious irregularities have occurred. A Mr. M. J. Morgan and his son, a Mr. Boulton, and a Mr. Stansel Berwick were tried in this court for cruelty to a freedman; were convicted; and were fined in the aggregate $550. The fines imposed upon the two Morgans, amounting to $300, were reported by the agent, but no account was rendered of the remaining $250. Captain Lambert, in a written explanation herewith forwarded (marked A), states that the money and papers in this case were stolen from his office, and that he made up his report from memory. It does not appear, however, that Captain Lambert made any official mention of the burglary until after this discrepancy was discovered by us. We found that Captain Lambert's records, as a rule, were very loosely kept, and that his predecessor, who had collected thousands of dollars, had left no record or evidence behind him of the disposition made of the money received. A similar absence of records prevented our making a thorough investigation in other offices in the State.

The freedmen of Georgia, when we went through the State, were generally at work, and wherever their wages were remunerative and regularly paid them, were contented and doing well.

Alabama.

In this State Major General Wager Swayne, the assistant commissioner, has pursued a discreet, liberal, and enlightened policy in administering the affairs of the Bureau, laboring on all occasions to secure the co-operation of the civil authorities and to obtain from the judicial machinery of the State a recognition of the rights essential to the security and well-being of the freed people. This policy of General Swayne has produced a much more kindly feeling towards the bureau than exists where its agents have assumed to exercise judicial powers.

Though the administration at headquarters has been satisfactory, subordinate agents have been guilty of considerable irregularities.

The following-named officers and agents of the Bureau in Alabama are engaged in planting:

Captain and Brevet Colonel C. Cadell, jr., assistant adjutant general.

G. A. Harmount, local agent at Montgomery.

J. F. McGogg, agent at headquarters, late chief quartermaster of the bureau.

C. W. Buckley, superintendent of education.

S. S. Gardner, late agent at Selma.

Our attention was called to the alleged misconduct of the agent at Greenville in selling government rations, but as General Swayne himself had undertaken to investigate the matter, we did not inquire into the case.

We found the freedmen in Alabama working well on the plantations, but the heavy rains had swollen the streams out of their banks, doing immense damage to the crops, and some apprehensions were felt that the freedmen who were working on shares would lose their labor and would not be able to make subsistence for themselves and families.

Mississippi.

The merging of the Bureau with the Military Department of this State has placed the control of freedmen's affairs in the hands of Major Thomas J. Wood, the department commander. General Wood has greatly improved upon the administration of his predecessor, Colonel Samuel Thomas, whose policy was not calculated to produce harmony between the races. There is still, notwithstanding the change of policy introduced by General Wood, more ill-feeling existing between the whites and blacks in Mississippi than we found elsewhere. There are, however, causes operating in certain localities in this State beyond the control of any policy the bureau might adopt, producing antagonism and bloodshed. This is the case at Grenada, where an organized band of desperadoes have for some time past held the town in terror, and in April last murdered Lieutenant Blanding, an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau. The respectable citizens, who themselves have been subjected to outrage by this gang, strongly condemned the crime, and sought to have the murderers brought to justice.

At Meridian, in the same State, a condition of things nearly as bad appears to prevail. The bureau officer there, Major J. Knox, of the Veteran Reserve corps, was fired upon in the night a few months ago, for what reason we were unable to learn, as he seemed to be an excellent officer and on good terms with the people generally. These were the only cases of outrage on officers of the bureau. In other districts the agents were well protected.

At Columbus, Major Smith, of the Veteran Reserve corps (the agent stationed there), made some remarkable statements to us, which, perhaps, may show the way in which the reports of agents of the bureau are sometimes concocted. He at first said that the people of the district were well disposed, that the freedmen were doing well, and were kindly treated by all except the poorer classes of whites, from whom alone they required protection. In a very few minutes afterwards he asserted that outrages on freedmen had been committed by two-thirds of the planters in the neighborhood. When pressed to state specifically the nature of the outrages and by whom committed, he mentioned three only, all of which had been committed on the same plantation by the overseer, and all of which had been remedied by the planter himself as soon as his attention was called to them. On investigation we found the statements of this officer as to the ill treatment of negroes grossly exaggerated, and learned that the agent himself had on one occasion advised a planter with whom he was dining to "club" any negro who refused to work.

Aside from the places of which we have spoken as being infested by bad men we found the negroes in Mississippi working industriously, and as a rule, kindly treated and doing well. In this, as in others we have visited, the officers of the bureau formerly imposed and collected fines, and many kept no records. We found a marked instance of this kind at Grenada, where a former agent of the bureau, Chaplain Livermore, did a thriving business in the way of collecting fines, selling rations and government horses and mules. This officer seems not only to have collected fines ranging from fifty cents to five dollars from the freedmen for marrying them, but also attempted to exact fees from resident white ministers for giving them permission to marry freedmen. In cases where the negroes were unable to pay the sum demanded of them for proving their contracts or marrying them, the chaplain levied on their personal property, in one case seizing a negro's empty wallet and jack-knife for a balance of fifty cents. This close driving is probably to be accounted for by the fact that Chaplain Livermore openly expressed his intention to return to Illinois with ten thousand dollars in his pocket. After he had been removed from his post he offered a military officer fifty dollars for his influence to retain him in his position. Chaplain Livermore left no official papers behind to show the disposition he had made of the funds received. A large amount of money was also collected by the first two agents at Columbus in the shape of fees and fines, and so far as we could learn no account was ever rendered of it. This class of officers have lately been mustered out, or have disappeared. Under the present administration the agents exercise no judicial powers.

Louisiana.

The bureau in this department is more in need of retrenchment and reform than in any other State we have visited. More money has been collected, and more money has been squandered in Louisiana than in any other three southern States. The expenses of the bureau, as accounted for for the fiscal year ending the 1st of June, 1866, were over three hundred thousand dollars. To meet this expenditure there were collected in taxes and rents the following amounts:

For school purposes,	$96,387 86
From rents,	92,431 90
From poll tax,	40,956 11
From Corps d'Afrique tax,	23,000 00
From fines,	678 10
Total,	$253,448 47

Leaving a deficit of $60,057 33 to be paid out of the national treasury. These expenses are in addition to the transportation, rations, and quartermaster's supplies furnished by the government. It is difficult to determine to what use the vast amount of property held by the bureau has been applied. At the very lowest estimate, the property taken possession of as confiscated or abandoned amounted in value to ten millions of dollars, and the rents returned as above mentioned are less than one per cent. on the entire value.

The expenditures of the bureau under the present administration for agents, civilian clerks, and employes about its headquarters alone, amount to not less than $40,230 a year, exclusive of the staff officers and orderlies in the military service.

A large proportion of the money expended on the freedmen schools under the administration of the Rev. T. W. Conway, the late Assistant Commissioner, we are satisfied was squandered. Mr. Matthew Whilden, formerly chief clerk in the school department, in evidence before us—which is hereto appended, marked "B"—stated that in September, 1865, Captain Pease, the school superintendent, reported officially that there were schools in operation and in flourishing condition, when, in fact, there were two. It was also sworn to before us that the books and records, which would have shown this report to be inaccurate, were destroyed in Captain Pease's office and others substituted. We can see no object for the fabricaton of this false report, unless it was to account for payments made to persons who were not engaged in teaching. On examining the pay-roll No. 2, for the month of August, 1865, we found that after it had been certified and approved, names had been added, and the totals erased and changed on every page. We found also a discrepancy of several hundred dollars between the pay-rolls for this month and the labor roll No. 15.

From the sworn testimony, also hereto appended, it will be seen that Captain Morse, appointed provost marshal of the bureau by Mr. Conway, made the provost marshal's office a slave-pen, arresting freedmen and selling them to planters at five dollars a head, and sharing the proceeds with his special policemen who made the arrests. This officer farther collected a large amount of money from freedmen and white persons arrested by him for various offenses, and his books only show receipts from this source amounting to $675 10.

The Bureau is cultivating a large plantation in this State, for which it pays ten to fifteen thousand dollars a year as rent. We can scarcely imagine the excuse for renting land on account of the United States, when the government, through each Congress, is giving away millions of acres of public lands to corporations.

Major General Absalom Baird is the Assistant Commissioner for Louisiana, and was also military commander of the Department when we visited it. He has undoubtedly improved upon the administration of Mr. Conway.

Texas.

The facilities for traveling in Texas being so limited, and the State so large, we found it impossible to make such an investigation as would enable us to report fully upon the condition of affairs in that department. The headquarters of the bureau are located at Galveston, and a few agents are stationed in the most accessible and populous parts of the State. As to the condition of affairs in the interior, we were unable to obtain accurate information, either from the agents of the bureau or from any other sources. We visited Richmond and Houston, where we met several of the agents from other districts, who were there in attendance on a court-martial.

At Richmond, Captain Sloan, the agent of the Bureau, is engaged in planting, in connection with his former clerk, Captain Porter, and an ex-officer of the rebel army, Captain Mitchell. Captain Sloan denied, under oath, that he was or ever had been interested in the plantation of Messrs. Porter and Mitchell, but Major Pearson, commandant of the troops at that post, and Dr. Boyd, post surgeon, both subsequently swore before us that Captain Sloan had told them repeatedly he was interested in the farm, and had mentioned to them the amount he expected to realize by it. Complaints were made to us by other persons that Captain Sloan had employed the power of the Bureau to take negroes from their plantations and place them on his own. We append the testimony taken in this case, marked "C."

Amongst the agents we met at Houston was Lieutenant C. F. Hardenbrook, 1st V. R. C., agent at Beaumont, Jefferson county, who stated to us that the freedmen were doing well in his district, and that the disposition of the people was very fair. Most of the freedmen were engaged in herding stock, and were paid from ten to fifteen dollars a month, in coin. He subsequently mentioned that he had recently arrested Dr. Houston, a citizen in his district, on the report of a freedman that the doctor had said he did not regard his parole; but, finding it was impossible to obtain evidence against his prisoner, he had been obliged to release him. This officer reported to us other actions of his own equally absurd as this, satisfying us that he was utterly incompetent for his position.

Having heard unfavorable reports from the Brenham district, we examined the agent, Captain S. A. Craig, 17th Veteran Reserve corps, whom we also met at Houston. He stated that his predecessor, Lieutenant Arnold, of the 12th Illinois cavalry, had kept no records, and had left nothing in the office but a list of contracts and a file of orders, and he could give us no information of his official acts. We are satisfied that most of the complaints made against Captain Craig are groundless.

All the bureau agents in Texas exercise judicial powers in both civil and criminal cases, and in the discharge of these arbitrary and dangerous functions frequently arrest and imprison respectable citizens upon mere rumor. Captain Sloan, the bureau officer at Richmond before alluded to, while at Galveston, out of his district, arrested a respectable citizen and put him in prison on the plea that he wanted him as a witness in a case which he only knew from rumor would be brought before him.

Ten of the thirty-five agents in this State are citizen planters. One of them, Colonel McConnaghee, agent in Thornton county, was formerly a colonel in the rebel army, and was appointed an agent of the bureau by General Gregory, then Assistant Commissioner for the State, while still unpardoned.

We heard many rumors with respect to General Gregory himself being engaged in planting, but on investigation we concluded that these statements were unfounded. While we believe General Gregory to have been honest in his administration, we think his extreme views and policy produced ill feeling and bitterness between the whites and blacks.

So far as we saw or were able to get information in Texas, the freedmen were working well and the crops were promising. The wages paid, all the payments being made in specie, were better than in any other department.

Brevet Major General J. B. Kiddoo is the present Assistant Commissioner for Texas.

Summary.

In pursuing this investigation, which has now extended over four months, we have found extreme difficulty in complying with that portion of our instructions which requires us to report upon the operations of the bureau and its mode of administration. The bureau has no settled mode of administration. There is an entire absence of system or uniformity in its constitution. In one State its officers exercise judicial powers; in an adjoining State all cases are referred to the civil authorities; while in a third State the bureau officers collect the cases and turn them over to military provost courts to dispose of. In some departments the officers of the bureau have attempted to regulate the rate of wages; one form of contract between employer and employed is prescribed in one State, while in another a different form is adopted. In Louisiana the expenses of the freedmen's schools have been wholly paid by the government; in the other States the schools are partially self-supporting, and in Texas they are entirely so. In some localities the bureau officers interfere arbitrarily between the planter and the freedmen in favor of the freedmen; in other localities the bureau is used as a means of coercing the freedmen in favor of the planter. The expenditure of the bureau varies as much as its mode of administration. In one State the expenses are over three hundred thousand dollars a year; in another State, with an equal population, the expenses are not more than fifty thousand. In some States the expenses have been met by taxes levied on and collected from the people; in other States the cost is entirely borne by the United States treasury.

We found it impossible to investigate the accounts of the bureau quartermasters, for the reason that when the funds were received from taxes, rents, and sale of abandoned property, there were no means of ascertaining the amounts received, except from the personal statement of the officers themselves. A quartermaster in the army, drawing his funds from the government, has the amount charged up to him, and is obliged to account for it in his returns; but the looseness of the administration of the quartermaster's department of the bureau, and the absence of all check upon the officers, give no security except the personal honesty of the men themselves. We examined the accounts of Brevet Brigadier General Whittlesey, Bureau Quartermaster of the Department of the Mississippi, who satisfied us that he had honestly administered the affairs of his department, and had accounted for all of the money received by him, but whether his predecessor, who collected a large amount from taxes, rents, and sales, paid over to General Whittlesey all the money in his hands belonging to the bureau, we were unable to determine. We do not make this statement to reflect upon that officer, against whom there were no charges, but to illustrate the looseness of the system.

The official report of Colonel Reno, United States army, Provost Marshal General of the bureau for Louisiana—a copy of which is herewith forwarded, marked "D"—shows a deficit of upwards of seven thousand dollars in the accounts of the officers who were engaged in the collecting of taxes in New Orleans, which deficit Colonel Reno says he is unable to explain in consequence of the loose manner in which the books were kept. One of the defaulting officers, Lieutenant Foster, who, Colonel Reno believes, appropriated to his own use the largest amount of the deficiency, carried off his cash book with him. This officer, on his own responsibility, levied an "incidental tax," which Colonel Reno calls an "invention of his own," and which, "with the exception of one or two hundred dollars, went into his own pocket."

We are of opinion that at the close of the war, and for some time after the cessation of hostilities, the Freedmen's Bureau did good. The people of the South, having at first no faith in the negroes working under a free-labor system, were desirous of getting rid of them, and during the summer of 1865 judicious bureau and military officers did much towards restoring order and harmony, and inducing the people of the South to resume the cultivation of their plantations by employing the freedmen. Before the close of 1865 there was an entire revolution in the sentiments of the people of the South with regard to negro labor. A feeling of kindness sprang up towards the freedman, resulting, perhaps, mainly from the conviction that his labor was desirable and profitable, and the only labor to be had. The necessity of the bureau then ceased. Since then, while it has been beneficial in some localities, it has been productive, in the aggregate, of more harm than good. It has occasioned and will perpetuate discord as long as it exists, though administered by the purest and wisest men of the nation. The freedmen regard its presence as evidence that they would be unsafe without it, and *the white people consider it an imputation upon their* integrity and fairness; an espionage upon the official action of all their courts and magistrates, as well as upon the private conduct of their citizens. Both races are thus made suspicious and bitter by an agency which, in the present reorganized condition of civil government and society in the southern States, is powerless to advance the interests of either.

The best protection the freedman has in the South is the value of his labor in the market, and if he is left free to dispose of this, at all times, to the highest bidder, unshackled by contracts made for him by Bureau officers, no apprehensions need be felt for his safety or his success. If the freedmen could at this moment demand the wages which the high price of the products of the South would justify, one dollar per day and board would be the ruling wages, instead of ten or twelve dollars per month, the prices now paid. But they cannot take advantage of the demand for their labor; they are bound by contracts, enslaved for twelve months, through the agency and influence of the Freedmen's Bureau. The hands on the Mississippi river steamboats were not required to make contracts, and they are getting forty dollars per month and their board for labor less exacting than that of a plantation negro. *The freedmen on the Ogeechee and Savannah* rivers are getting, on the rice plantations, from ten to fifteen dollars per month, under contract for the year, while the laborers employed on the Georgia Central railroad, which runs between these streams, are getting one dollar and a half a day. Some complaints were made to us by the planters on the Savannah river that their laborers were discontented, and did not work as required by the contracts. One of the planters, a practical, liberal-minded man, explained the cause of discontent to be the low wages at which the negroes were hired. He said, "I can get hands enough, and good work done, too, by paying a dollar a day and rations, and I am paying that and expect to pay even more. I can give three dollars a day and make money. The negro is going to make all he can out of his freedom, and he has a right to do so." The enlightened policy advocated by this gentleman—a policy strongly in accordance with justice and sound political economy—is defeated by the contract system inaugurated and forced into practical operation by the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau. We met with instances of freedmen working for ten dollars a month and rations under yearly contracts sanctioned by the bureau, while in the same field, doing the same work, other freedmen not under contracts were getting one dollar a day and rations. In all of the large towns of the Mississippi valley, during the months of May and June, planters were offering one dollar a day and rations for freedmen, while under the sanction of the government, given by the officers and agents of the bureau, thousands of freedmen were working under contract for ten dollars per month. If the freedmen are left free to contract, the demand for their labor and competition among employers will secure them good wages and kind treatment. They will not contract with men who treat them harshly or fail to pay them, as is abundantly proven by the fact that many planters who treated their former slaves cruelly are now unable to hire freedmen to work for them, and have been obliged to sell or lease their plantations.

We are unable to discover why the simple rules which regulate and control the relations of labor and capital in the northern States should not obtain as well in the South—why the national government should permit the laboring man to sell his labor to the highest bidder in one section of the country and appoint an agent to sell it for him in another section. It is undoubtedly true that if the freed people of the South were not bound by contracts their wages would be at least fifty per cent. higher at this time than they are, and there would be less discontent among the freedmen than now exists, and far less duty for the agents of the bureau to perform. Almost the only dissatisfaction existing at this time among the freedmen results from the low rates of wages at which they have been hired under the influence and with the approval of the agents of the Bureau. This discontent makes the freedmen unwilling to work. Their indolence provokes the planter, who frequently resorts to violence to enforce his contract, and this makes business for the officer who sanctioned the contract. Investigation follows, resulting generally in finding the freedmen at fault for refusing to labor according to their contracts, and they are required to return to the plantation, while the planter is admonished to curb his temper. In some cases of this nature the contract is declared forfeited by the conduct of the planter, who goes away from the bureau feeling that a decision has been made that the freedmen are not bound to fulfil their agreements. The fault—the cause of the difficulty—is in the contract, which has been unjustly forced upon the poor freedmen. It must not be inferred from what we have written that we are opposed to the freedmen contracting with the planters. By no means. We believe the very best thing they can do is to make contracts, either for a share of the crops or liberal wages; but we are opposed to agents of the national government assuming to hire them out, prescribing the terms of service, and stipulating for the wages to be paid them. They are not free so long as any such control is exercised over them, nor can they ever receive just reward for their labor while they are compelled to hire within a given time for a specified term. In Mississippi and other States, freedmen were compelled, by orders from officers of the bureau, to enter into contracts within limited periods, which enabled all who wanted hands to get them at low wages, while, if the freedmen had not been interfered with, the demand for labor would have enabled them to secure just remuneration. It is a great error to suppose that the freedmen are not competent to enter into contracts for themselves. They are sharp at a bargain, know well what a good contract is, and are much better collectors than white people.

As an evidence of the rigid manner in which contracts are enforced by agents of the bureau against the freedmen, we may mention a case which came under our own observation. A colored blacksmith, who fled from his master during the war, and enlisted in the United States army, being about to be mustered out of service, wrote to his wife requesting her not to contract for more than a month or two at a time, as he intended to return home when mustered out and set up shop and go to housekeeping. His wife accordingly declined at first to make a long contract, but was finally compelled to engage herself for a year. The soldier on his return went to the plantation where his wife was working and applied for her release, but failed to get her. He then sent a written statement of the case to an agent of the bureau, who forwarded it to the assistant commissioner for the State. It was returned from headquarters with the following endorsement:

"Inasmuch as the wife of William Carter has made a *contract for the year* 1866, *she must observe its requirements*. The sub-commissioner will inform William Carter that the interests of the freed-people religiously observing their agreements are paramount to the wishes of individuals, and that the power of the bureau will only be used to protect them from manifest injustice. There being no positive evidence of such injustice in this case, the bureau has no interference to make."

It is evident that this officer considers a labor *contract more sacred than a marriage contract*.

The system of contracts now existing in the South and enforced by the bureau is simply slavery in a new form. What is the difference to the negro whether he is sold for five dollars or five thousand dollars for thirty years to thirty masters, or for thirty years to one master? It is involuntary servitude in either case, and a practical defeat of the emancipation proclamation of the lamented President Lincoln. If the freedman leaves work to seek employment at better wages, he is arrested as a vagrant by order of the Freedmen's Bureau and put to labor on the roads with ball and chain, as is provided by an order recently issued by General Scott, assistant commissioner for South Carolina. If, fatigued from overwork, he desires to rest for a day, if he leaves the plantation to visit a relative or friend, it is made a penal offense, and a fine of fifty dollars is imposed, as will be seen by circular No. 14, of General Kiddoo, assistant commissioner for Texas, a copy of which is hereto annexed, marked "E." If he refuses to contract at all, he is arrested by the bureau provost marshal and sold for a few dollars to the nearest planter, as in the case of Captain Morse, of New Orleans, already referred to. The coercive policy adopted by the bureau in this and *other respects has been made a justification for the discriminating* legislation of some of the southern States. The only remedy against a white man for a breach of contract is a suit for damages, and we can see no reason why the same remedy should not be applied and conceded in the case of the black man. The freedman has nothing to sell but his labor, and we are strongly of the opinion that he ought to be permitted to obtain for it the highest price it will bring. If he is a freeman, it is neither just or lawful for any person to assume control of him, and certainly not more just or lawful for an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau to do so than for a southern planter.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

JAMES B. STEEDMAN,
Major General Volunteers
J. S. FULLERTON,
Brigadier General Volunteers

THE NEW ORLEANS RIOTS.

Political Position of Governor Wells and his Antecedents—Who Caused the Disturbance and what was the Object—General Baird's Imbecility, &c.

[Correspondence New York Herald.]

NEW ORLEANS, August 5.—A telegraphed answer of Governor Wells to a message from President Johnson inquiring as to the authority of the Governor for ordering elections to fill vacancies in the deceased convention which had been convoked to overturn the government of Louisiana, makes its first appearance in public in the northern papers since the recent disturbances in New Orleans, and serves to reveal one of the principal causes of the most guilty agents of that sad tragedy that has produced such excitement in the land.

As a witness of what occurred in New Orleans, and personally cognizant of all the facts relating to it, I beg the use of your columns for a plain and unvarnished statement, every averment of which is susceptible of judicial proof, and will not be denied by any honest man who has any knowledge of the transactions referred to.

I want no better text for my exposition of the turpitude of this convention plot than this reply of Governor Wells to the very pertinent inquiry of the President. The Governor says he ordered the elections for vacancies in the convention by direction of the president of that body.

The flagrancy and audacity of this falsehood are exposed by the fact that the president of the convention, the Hon. E. H. Durrell, is now, and has been for several weeks, a sojourner in New England; that when asked to convoke the convention he peremptorily refused, declaring that the body was extinct, and, at the suggestion of some of his radical friends that Governor Wells could be used to promote their views, added that the "Governor had sold them once, and would sell them again."

Judge Durrell is, or ought to be, well known throughout the country as the intimate and confidential friend of Chief Justice Chase and General Banks, and a radical of the straightest sect.

Governor Wells, too, furnishes further proof of the falsity of his reply to the President's inquiry, by the words of his proclamation ordering the election for vacancies, in which he sets forth that it was done by the authority of the president *pro tem.*, R. K. Howell.

Here then was a deliberate falsehood communicated to the President to deceive him and the country by the principal conspirator in the nefarious plot. If the convention could be legally convoked at all under the circumstances, after its mission had been performed and its functions had ceased for over two years, the resolution on which the extraordinary claim was based limited the power of reconvoking it to the president. No one else was authorized to exercise this power. The "Hon. R. K. Howell" in assuming that power was a double usurper. There could be no president pro tem. of the convention, as the body had never elected one, and the president still existed. But to make this act of this audacious and puny pretender the more insolent, he was not even a member of the convention, having resigned his seat in it because of certain radical tendencies of the body, his resignation having been accepted, and a motion to reconsider that acceptance having failed for the want of a quorum.

Now I submit these notorious facts to the calm reflection of all freemen, as illustrative of the unparalleled audacity of this plot, and ask them to take them home to themselves, and determine what would be their own feelings and conduct towards so dishonest and vile an attempt to overthrow the government of their own community.

The pretext of General Baird, the second of the principal criminals in the recent tragedy, and which has been much harped upon by the denouncers of our people and the President, that at the worst the convention, if illegal, would be practically innocuous, is a dishonest and deceptive one.

The recognition of this revolutionary body by the Governor, the fact that its president was a member of the Supreme Bench of the State, and that two others of that tribunal, known creatures of the Governor, were engaged in the conspiracy, backed, as they all were, by the pledge of the protection and support of the military commander of the department (General Baird), would have practically transferred the government of the State to the conspirators. With such a combination it would have been an easy and simple task to oust the other State officers, by due process of law. And this was the plan. The delegates who composed the convention were no theoretical fanatics or idealogists; they cared nothing for any party or for any principles; characterless, adventurers and peculators, they only sought to get possession of the fat offices of the State from which they had been ejected by the respectable portion of the community, by the military authority which succeeded General Banks, and chiefly by the Governor himself when he professed to be a Union conservative. His motive for his sudden apostacy was equally well known. He had lost the confidence of his original supporters; had in a short time, by his personal and political delinquencies, brought upon himself the disgust, scorn, and bitter hatred of the whole people of all parties and classes. He knew that at the very next session of the Legislature he would be impeached by the nearly unanimous voice of the Legislature. It was to save himself from this fate and prevent inquiry into transactions of the most damning character that he went over to the convention plot, and gave the weight of his official position and pledged all his power and influence to promote the success of the conspiracy.

So much for the Governor's connection with this affair, and the imminent practicality of the convention scheme.

I have said that the next most guilty person in this audacious conspiracy is Generals Baird, who in the absence of General Sheridan commanded the United States forces in New Orleans. No one has so large a share of the responsibility for the tragic and deplorable scenes in which this foul plot culminated as this fanatical, insubordinate and imbecile commander. Though well aware of General Sheridan's views in regard to the criminal character of these conspirators, and of President Johnson's repeated orders to respect and support the civil authorities, General Baird from the first manifested his party sympathy for the conspirators, declared that they should not be arrested under process from the State court, and that if the sheriff undertook to arrest them under bills of indictment found by the grand jury, he would put him (the sheriff) in irons. But for these intimations and declarations the convention would never have assembled. The members of that body were not of the class who sought martyrdom, who were wedded to their purposes and convictions, or moved by that sincerity and earnestness which would incur even ordinary dangers in the maintenance of their views and the execution of their plan. The promise of the protection of the United States military authority in a city where that authority has been so omnipotent would have given confidence and a sense of immunity and security to any party or individuals, how weak, criminal, and offensive soever they might be to the mass of the community.

It was upon these assurances of General Baird that the demagogues founded their promise to the poor, ignorant negroes that they might and should come to the opening of the convention. It was unnecessary but quite in the vein of the incendiary style and temper of Dostie and the other "perturbed spirits" of the radical conspirators to add to this invitation the injunction to come "armed and ready to protect their friends." They (the negroes) would never have come but for the belief that Baird would have had troops to defend them. His failure to afford that protection was a gross breach of faith to them, as his failure to obey the orders sent to the Attorney General of the State by the President, that the military would be expected to support and not obstruct the processes of the State courts, was a flagrant act of insubordination and contempt of his superior commanding officer. In his efforts to dodge his duty and responsibility, Baird not only achieved the reputation of bad faith and treachery, but that of a pitiable imbecility in failing to maintain the peace and repress tumult and violence in a community where a sergeant's guard would have sufficed for that purpose. His declaration of martial law after peace had been established, and his jail delivery of the prisoners arrested by the police for causing and participating in the disturbances, were such manifestations of imbecility and helpless nervousness, rather than of military energy and promptitude, as would, but for their serious antecedents and results, have excited ridicule and contempt.

Such were briefly the main causes and agencies producing the late unhappy tragedy in New Orleans. A body of proclaimed revolutionists, who sought to overturn the regular government of the State by the most illegal and violent measures, and by the aid of a corrupt and characterless Governor, and of an imbecile and partisan accidental military commander, whose scheme as openly avowed was to exclude the four hundred thousand white people of the State from all political and civil rights, and vest the same exclusively in two hundred whites of the most desperate and unprincipled character, and in the nineteen thousand negro suffragans who had been recently elevated from the condition of slaves, constituted such an organization, conspiracy and scheme as all history may be searched in vain for a parallel for. Can it be necessary, in any country where the simplest idea of manhood, of right of respect for law, authority, order or decency exists, to justify or palliate this most summary, bitter and violent resistance on the part of a people who were to be subjected to such wrong, indignity, insult, and oppression? Is there any community on this continent which would have borne itself with less temper, excess, and turbulence, under like circumstances, than that of New Orleans did on the 30th of July? And yet as a spectator I can bear personal testimony to the fact that the excesses so much dwelt upon by the reckless partisans who labor with such diabolical energy to make capital out of the wild violence of an unbridled mob, called into action by the imbecile inactivity of a military commander who would neither maintain the peace by his own authority nor allow the civil authorities to maintain it, were not committed by the people of New Orleans, and were, in truth, most deeply deplored by all good citizens.

The persons who perpetrated these violences were of the same class which exist in all cities and are so well known as "roughs," who can only be controlled by the exercise of physical force and the exhibition of legal authority. There are enough of this class in every city to produce even greater violence and turbulence than that which characterized the two hours of frenzy that embraced the full period of mob violence in New Orleans on the 30th ult. If some acts of blind, reckless, and mercenary cruelty and barbarity were not committed in the midst of this excitement and tumult it would be an unusual and exceptional characteristic of this over all other mobs. If the police should be deemed to have applied their force with unnecessary vigor and impetuosity, let those who are disposed to condemn them place themselves in their situation and judge how they would act under the circumstances. Fired upon by the very parties whom they were exposing themselves to protect, more than forty of their brethren shot down, they would have exhibited rare examples of moderation, philosophy and fortitude if they had restrained their indignation, their passions, their instinct of self-defense. I can personally testify to the fact that the members of the convention who were saved from instant death owed their escape to the most heroic exposure of the police, many of whom were wounded by balls and stabs directed at members of the convention, whose bodies they covered with their own. And yet these ungrateful men have sought to prejudice and calumniate this body of gallant men by detailing instances of menace and violence committed by individuals of the police excited by the wounds they had received in the discharge of their duty and by the spectacle of their slain and wounded brethren, whose bodies cumbered the pavements for some distance around the scene. Far be it from me to justify any such acts. I believe that it is the universal sentiment of the good people of New Orleans that the perpetrators, especially those who were charged with official responsibility for acts of lawless violence and brutality, should be held to a stern liability therefor. But to condemn a whole community for such acts—to refer them, as General Banks does in his recent calumnious publication, to other causes, motives, and circumstances than those I have detailed, is so flagrantly false and unjust that I marvel at the credulity of a people who can receive or hearken to suggestions so emphatically contradicted by notorious facts.

General Banks' aspersion of the loyalty of the people of New Orleans, of their good faith, their favorable and friendly inclinations to all well-disposed citizens from other States, without regard to party, to sections, or to previous political relations, has no more honorable or respectable motive than the mortified vanity and egotism of a hollow and pretentious charlatan in politics, a gross debauchee in morals, an unprincipled Jeremy Diddler in money transactions, a shuffling partisan demagogue, who could not deceive an intelligent and high-minded community into the idea that he was a great man, a gentleman, or a worthy embodiment of loyalty, or a fit representative of the dignity of this great republic. That he should exhibit some emotion at the death of the poor crazed barber and dentist whom he first inflamed with the ambition to figure as a mob leader by styling him the Robespierre of radicalism, and whom he instigated to force himself into notoriety for the first time in his life by sending him to a theatre at the head of a disorderly gang to interfere with a peaceful dramatic entertainment by demanding and requiring the playing of certain national airs—the only remembered achievement of this Robespierre; that he should be seriously affected by the hard usage of the partners of his corrupt and shameless scheme to impose upon the people of Louisiana a government which his present ally, Governor Wells, has shown never had the sanction of two thousand people of Louisiana, is perhaps the most respectable manifestation which the career of N. P. Banks affords of fidelity to his friends and associates. His testimony in their defense, as well as his reflection upon the loyalty of our people, are entitled to such weight as is due to the accomplice in the crime of the one and the bitter and despised foe of the other party in this late unhappy conflict.

POINT LOOKOUT TO BE A WATERING-PLACE.—Point Lookout, situated at the mouth of the Potomac river, formerly a resort for rebel prisoners, has been sold by the government to a company of New York capitalists, and will be converted into a resort for the traveling public. A summer hotel is to be built there. The government expended over five hundred thousand dollars in erecting buildings there during the war.

THE KANAKA CONGRESS COMPARED WITH THE AMERICAN RUMP.

[From the Baltimore Gazette.]

In the North Pacific there is a cluster of islands known to the old navigators as the Sandwich Islands, but to modern geographers as Hawaii or Owhyhee. The inhabited islands of this group are seven in number. In 1823 the total population was estimated at about one hundred at forty thousand souls; but since the natives exchanged their breech cloths for pantaloons, and took to rum and missionary, they have been rapidly dying out, until they do not now number more than seventy thousand of all ages. On the whole group there are probably eight thousand breeched and unbreeched adults, males; but a majority of islanders have so far copied European manners and institutions that they have now a regular standing army of eighty men, who serve as body-guard to his gracious majesty King Kamehameha III, and keep his liege in as much order as they possibly can. They have also schools and churches, court-houses and prisons, and indeed everything that belongs to civilization, except its virility and its morals.

There is a French proverb which says "scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar underneath." The observation is equally applicable to the Hawaiians. Florists have noticed that flowers taken from fields and hedge rows and improved by high cultivation exhibit, at times, a strong tendency to return to their native wildness. Every exhibition of this proclivity is technically called "a sport." The term will not be found in this sense in the dictionaries; but it is found as pertinent in regard to the Hawaiians as to new varieties of roses. The olive-complexioned Sandwich Islanders are sadly inclined to "sport." They wear their civilization as loosely as their clothes, occasionally throwing off both and relapsing into the pure savageism and gross licentiousness of the original Malay. Possessing, nevertheless, a happy talent for mimicry, they aspired to found a kingdom of their own, and, among their other institutions, they have set up what Mr. Greeley would call "a National Legislature." This eminent body consists of about forty members, so that the average number of votes required to elect each member, where there is a contest at the polls, is somewhere in the neighborhood of one hundred and one. As it is mostly modeled on the pattern of our Congress, the Kanaka Legislature, if viewed through the small end of a telescope, would be found to bear, both in its habits and practices, a striking resemblance to its prototype at Washington.

In the Honolulu journals that have lately reached this country, we have the proceedings of the Hawaiian Legislature done in tolerably correct English, and, generally speaking, if it were not for the difference in the names, and now and then an outbreak of decency on the part of the majority, we might readily imagine we were reading over again the sayings and doings of the Radicals during their seven-months incubation of cockatrices' eggs beneath the dome of the Capitol. For instance, any one might, with peculiar propriety, believe that it was Mr. Sumner, and not a Kanaka representative, who presented a petition from Puna, "asking for a law to prevent old people taking young people in marriage, and assigning certain grave reasons of state policy" in support of the memorial—which reasons we trust some enterprising publisher will reprint as addenda to the next edition of the once famous essay of Malthus "On the principle of population." So also, when after "a scene of dire disorder" that would have done no discredit to the House of Representatives, one of the native members introduced a resolution declaring: "That this Assembly do express their contempt for and want of confidence in the Minister of Finance, both in his acts before this *and all which may come after*." Who can doubt that, by simply substituting for Finance Minister "the man at the other end of the avenue," such a resolution in the completeness of its scope, past, present, and future, might have been offered by Thaddeus Stevens? So, too, when the Hon. Mr. Kamalo complained that in consequence of certain votes he had given, he had been called "a hoopilimeai," which we take to be the Hawaiian vernacular for "copperhead," the resemblance is as perfect as it well could be. During the same discussion we find in the Hon. Mr. Keawehunhala another undeniable "copperhead;" for he had the audacity to declare "he did not believe the assertions of certain officials." "I believe," said he, "they are loyal only because they make money out of the government." Equally pertinent and equally suggestive was the remark of another native, who said, indignantly, that "it was not exactly the thing for a judge to go to work in his taro patch, and, if a case comes up before him, to just step out of his taro patch and sit as a judge when he is all covered over with mud." Now, if we eliminate the "taro patch," and insert in its stead "the negro," Mr. Chief Justice Chase, with his soiled ermine, might himself have sat for that graphic picture.

On another occasion the Hon. Mr. Ukeke made a remark which our radicals in their treatment of the South would do well to consider. "A foreign doctor," said Mr. Ukeke, sententiously, "excels in taking out eyes and cutting off limbs; but a native doctor is, in other respects, better than a foreign one, for he makes a sick man well and brisk." Mr. Ukeke was opposed to the employment of a foreign doctor whose chief recommendation was that he could take out eyes and amputate limbs. He thought there had been quite enough of this cutting and slashing business, and he had a sturdy conviction that the native doctor was quite capable of curing the native patient of the disorders incidental to the man, the time, and the locality. What followed after this, though quite natural, was not so proper on the part of Mr. Ukeke. That sensible and patriotic Hawaiian legislator entertains a profound disgust for interlopers from New England; but his especial aversion is Mr. Harris, an ex-New England missionary, but now Finance Minister to King Kamehameha. No sooner had Mr. Ukeke asserted that a native doctor "could make a sick man well and brisk" than he suited the action to the word by making "certain gyrations of his body and limbs" which appear to have been far more expressive than graceful. Against this exhibition the Hon. Mr. Varigny protested. He gravely admonished the honorable member that the legislative assembly of Hawaii was not a dance-house. Whereupon the honorable member retorted that he did not see why "he could not throw his legs about as well as Mr. Harris," the Finance Minister, "although they were not so long." What passed afterwards is not recorded, but it may be reasonably conjectured that Mr. Varigny was silenced and quietly resumed his seat.

We have given these extracts from the proceedings of the Hawaiian Legislature, at its recent session, to show how perfectly the Kanakas have been taught to reproduce the speeches and re-enact the scenes that were common to the Congress so recently brought to a close at Washington. Of the two bodies, however, it must in justice be said that the little assembly at Hawaii was the more virtuous; for when, on the death of the King's sister, a resolution was introduced appropriating a hundred dollars to each member to enable him to purchase a suit of clothes, a majority of them spurned the temptation and voted the resolution down. They would rather have attended the funeral in their breech-cloths than descend to the meanness of voting themselves money out of the public treasury. Our legislators were not so squeamish. They voted themselves two thousand dollars apiece, in addition to their regular salary, and pocketed the money without blushing.

THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION.

[From the National Intelligencer.]

The Chicago Republican, a "Radical-to-the-core" journal, has most appositely stated the position of President Johnson. He has, according to this Radical journal, "stood still" exactly where the people placed him when he was elected Vice President. He has not moved an inch. He stands now, as he did then, upon the resolutions unanimously adopted in Congress in 1861, "that the war is not prosecuted upon our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, *nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States*, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and all laws made in pursuance thereof, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease." In the meantime the progressive Republicans, who have earned for themselves the name of the Radical faction, have left him. They have progressed in their radicalism. They have sought new fields of political development. From the terms of this resolution they have gone to negro suffrage, pure and simple; to the overthrowing and interfering with the rights or established institutions in the southern States; and to the maintenance of the will of Congress, instead of the supremacy of the Constitution.

The Chicago Republican has stated the case frankly. It says of the President:

> He was elected on a platform which provided that African slavery should be abolished, but failed to provide what should be the status of the emancipated race. A few radical Republicans moved forward and said, "Give the ballot to the negro." The President stood still, and said no. Thereupon the few radicals immediately moved past him, and the rebels prepared to come to him. Nearly the entire Republican party then said, "At least give the freedmen equal civil rights as citizens, and let the Federal government protect him from his master through the Freedmen's Bureau." The President answered, "No; he is free. Let him rely on himself and his former master for protection." And so vetoed every bill of Congress which asked him to take a step forward of the naked legal declaration that slavery was abolished. Standing thus obstinate and immovable on the platform of two years ago, the great Republican party swept past him in its onward march to the more radical principle of the political equality of all men.

This is the whole programme. The President stands upon the platform, resolutions, and policy upon which he was elected. He maintains those theories and doctrines. He stands there still. The Radical Republicans have moved onward and have chosen to engraft upon their platform principles and purposes totally foreign to the original agreement.

They have endeavored—first, by congressional action, and, failing in that, by inciting a miserable minority in southern States to attempt unlawful proceedings—to enfranchise the blacks and disfranchise whites. To carry out this programme they have not hesitated to call upon the black population in southern cities to arm themselves and inaugurate riots. Imitating the revolutionists in France, who arranged to have one of their number killed under the windows of the King, that they might impute to him the murder, these revolutionists are using every effort to stir up strifes in the South, with the hope of having negroes killed, that they may impute this violence to the laches of the Administration. Such is the progress of Radical Republican ideas, in which the President is invited to participate. The Chicago Republican goes beyond the fact in asserting that the platform upon which he was elected provided even for the abolition of slavery. The proposition upon which Mr. Johnson was elected was the resolution adopted by Congress almost unanimously in July, 1861, in which it was definitely announced that the war was not prosecuted "for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions" of the southern States. After that, even so late as July, 1864, Horace Greeley, in the absence of Congress the foremost representative of the Radical faction, in his letter to President Lincoln entreating him to "submit overtures for pacification to the southern insurgents," urged most solemnly that the Union should "pay four hundred millions of dollars in five per cent United States stock to the late slave States, loyal and secession alike," in compensation for the abolition of slavery, and that the southern States should be "entitled to representation in the House on the basis of their total instead of their federal population."

So late as July, 1864, this was the platform of the then radical Republican party. They were ready to make peace on almost any terms. Lincoln and Johnson were then more progressive than these now so greatly progressed Republicans. They urged on Grant, and Sherman, and Sheridan, and the "boys in blue" to make peace only on the terms of the submission of the South to the Federal arms. When this was done Mr. Johnson told the southern States that they could only be reconstructed after having ratified the abolition of slavery and repudiated the southern war debt, and sworn to abide by and sustain the Union and the Constitution.

When thus much had been accomplished the craven-hearted, make-peace-on-any-terms radical Republicans suddenly bethought themselves now that we have these southern States at our feet we will impose new terms. Negro suffrage was then first introduced and has ever since been the main plank in the radical Republican platform. This was simply an invention to keep the southern States in a condition of vassalage until after the next presidential election. It has no other meaning. For this they have extended the duration of the odious and worse than useless Freedmen's Bureau; for this they have concocted the civil-rights bill, when every southern State had extended its laws equally over the blacks and the whites; for this they have promoted lawless, revolutionary proceedings in the southern States, incited riots, and procured the killing of misguided negroes and white dupes to their false promises.

These are the forward steps taken by the Radical Republicans. These are the steps in which the President has refused to follow. He stands now where he and the Republican party stood when he was nominated by the Baltimore convention. He stands now where he and Mr. Lincoln promised to stand when they were elected. He stands now where the Republican party itself stood until the key-note of the advance was given by Colfax and Stevens last summer. The President has not changed. The "radical to the core" Republican proclaims this fact. The Radical Republican party has, with the most mischievous intent, "swept past him in its onward march to the more radical principle of the political equality of all men;" that is, to the establishment of negro suffrage and the political equalization of the ignorant negroes with the white population of the South. This is the shibboleth of the Radical Republican party, which Mr. Johnson has not yet learned, and we hope and believe never will learn, to utter. The President has not changed. The country must say the President is right. The radicals must come back to the starting point. They must be held amenable to the bond they have given. The country recognizes the legality, the obligation of this bond, and the Philadelphia convention will enforce it.

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